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Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier de
T H E

H I S T O R Y
O F
P A R A G U A Y

C O N T A I N I N G

Amongst many other New, Curious, and Interesting
Particulars of that Country,

A FULL AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT
O F

T H E E S T A B L I S H M E N T S

F O R M E D T H E R E B Y T H E J E S U I T S,

F R O M A M O N G

T H E S A V A G E N A T I V E S,

In the very Centre of Barbarism :

Establishments allowed to have realized the

Sublime Ideas of

F E N E L O N, Sir T H O M A S M O R E, and P L A T O.

Written originally in French, by the celebrated
Father C H A R L E V O I X.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed for LOCKYER DAVIS, in Holborn,
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C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

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T H E



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
P A R A G U A Y.
BOOK I.

General description of Paraguay. It is first discovered by the Spaniards, who build on the river of that name the cities of Buenos Ayres and the Assumption. The celebrated Don Alvarez Núñez de Vera Cabeça de Vaca arrives at the latter in quality of Governor and Lieutenant-General of the Province.

THE new world had not been long discovered, when people began to dispute, if Europe was likely to reap, from that event, all the advantages that were at first expected. This question was soon followed by another, concerning the right of conquest, in virtue of which, several Powers of Europe had taken upon them to reduce and bring under obedience, nations, that, for so many ages, had either lived without masters, or under the government of sovereigns, the validity of whose titles no one contested. A third question must naturally occur to those, who know any thing of the history of this great hemisphere since its discovery; and that is, whether, exclusive of religion, the inhabitants have been greater gainers or losers by their acquaintance with us. I must not

pretend to decide on the occasion : my chief view, in writing this History, is to enable those, that may peruse it, to judge for themselves, if the Europeans have always treated the Americans in the best manner to make useful establishments among them ; benefit of the treasures they set so little value upon ; increase their happiness, and oblige them to bless the day, that had brought them acquainted with the light of the Gospel.

I AM well aware of the prejudices that so generally prevail, in regard to the subject I am about to handle. I know that mistaken notions, concerning the empire and riches of the Jesuits of Paraguay, have gained even upon those, who express the greatest esteem for the society, since some persons, merely through concern for it's honour, have endeavoured to divert me from this undertaking. But, considering the number and authenticity of the proofs I had to offer in it's vindication, I judged this prevention of it's friends was another reason for my not going back ; and I hope the world will approve my perseverance. What pleasure, in fact, must not a reader enjoy, one, I mean, who loves and sincerely desires to discover truth, in seeing it burst forth through clouds, with which malice had endeavoured to involve it ! I am even persuaded, that numbers will be surprised at the society's having so long neglected to open the eyes of those, who can have no interest in being mistaken, concerning a point, which is far from being so indifferent as some persons may be apt to imagine ; and I think it my duty to inform the publick, that I at first set about this History, merely to comply with the desires of a Prince *, who judged it requisite for the honour of religion, of which he has been, to the hour of his death, one of the greatest ornaments.

* The late Duke of Orleans, who died the fourth of February, 1752.

BESIDES,

BESIDES, this History seemed to contain every thing that can either please or instruct, by the variety and importance of it's materials, and especially the beauty and novelty of the establishments, that form one of it's principal objects. I mean those Christian republicks, of which no models had as yet appeared in the world; republicks; founded in the center of the most savage barbarism, upon a plan more perfect than those imagined by Plato, Bacon, and the illustrious author of Telemachus, and by men, who employed in founding them no other cement, but their sweat and their blood; who, from no other motives but God's glory and the welfare of mankind, and with no other weapons but the Gospel, have braved the fury of the most intractable savages, whom the arms of the Spaniards, had only served to irritate; have thoroughly civilized them, and converted them into Christians, whose virtues for one hundred and fifty years past have been the admiration of all those that have taken the nearest view of them; and who, in fine, become Apostles almost as soon as Christians, make as many spiritual conquests as their pastors; and when their zeal is not attended with success, look upon martyrdom as an ample reward for all their labours; nor is this all, for these spiritual labourers, zealous for the glory of their sovereign and the interest of their countrymen, have brought their new converts to yield to the Crown of Spain, an homage, the sincerity of which may be so much the more depended upon, as it was quite voluntary, as their loyalty besides has more than once weathered with honour the severest trials; and as, by paying the most ready obedience to the orders of their sovereign, and sacrificing to his service their lives and their properties, with unexampled alacrity, they have given the most satisfactory proofs, that in so doing they are persuaded they serve God himself, and from him alone expect their reward.

WHEN all these facts have been well proved by the uniform testimony of persons, who had the best opportunity of sifting into the truth of them, and the greatest interest in not suffering themselves to be imposed upon, the world, no doubt, will be greatly surpris'd to find, that establishments so glorious to religion, and so useful to the state, have required to protect and preserve them, all the authority the kings of Spain could exert; that even persons, who were bound by all manner of ties to favour these establishments, have omitted nothing to disgust those who undertook to form them, and make their labours miscarry; and that they have been often ruined by men calling themselves Christians, who, through sordid and self-interested views have butchered or worried to death, by the most cruel slavery, upwards of one hundred thousand Neophytes. But it was the work of God, and the fittest to display his wisdom and his power. Those, whom he has been pleas'd to employ as his instruments in so glorious an enterprize, might well expect that Hell would leave no stone unturned to make it miscarry; and experience has but too well proved the justness of their apprehensions.

FOR, not to speak of the immense labours and dangers of every kind inevitably attending this new species of Apostleship, where they had all the elements to contend with, and inhospitable countries to run over, whose inhabitants far exceeded in savageness the wild beasts with which they abounded, what pen can relate what they had to suffer, even from the domestics of that faith they were labouring to propagate? Continually opposed, loaded with calumny in every part of the known world, driven with violence and infamy from their houses, accused at every tribunal as malefactors and traitors; they have often seen the most promising fruits of all their labours destroyed, but these disappointments
and

and persecutions, instead of damping their courage, served rather to inspire them with new ardour, and increase their constancy to such a degree, that, by means of it, they have at last overcome all the obstacles that were thrown in their way. But before I enter upon the relation of so many various and unexpected events, it is proper I should give a general idea of the country, that has been the scene of them, and which, though so much the subject of conversation, very few persons are acquainted with. I shall be more particular in my descriptions and observations as occasion offers.

THE word PARAGUAY is the name of a river, which issues from the lake of the Xarayes, in about sixteen degrees thirty minutes of south latitude, and twenty-three degrees of longitude, reckoning, as the Spaniards do, from the Azore islands, and after running a good way to the south-west, turns to the south. This word signifies, in the language of some of the neighbouring nations, Crowned River, as if the lake, from which it springs, formed a crown about it's head. Don Martin del Barco, Archdeacon of Buenos Ayres, in a Spanish historical poem, entitled Argentina, pretends that the lake of the Xarayes is by no means the source of the Paraguay, which he says some persons, after crossing this lake, had ascended a great deal higher, without finding it's origin. He adds, that some affirm it flows from the lake Parime, in the province del Dorado, whose existence a modern author* does not deem as fabulous, as it is generally believed to be; and this opinion perhaps may be supported by a fact, which another author relates†, though without taking upon him to answer for the certainty of it.

* Father Joseph Gumilla, in his Orenoco illustrated: or, Natural, Civil, and Geographical History of that River, &c,

† Father Peter Lozano, in his Chorographical Description of Great Chaco.

A SPANIARD, says he, called John Garcia, native of the city of the Assumption, capital of the province of Paraguay, after many years slavery among the Indians, called Payaguas, had the good fortune to recover his liberty, towards the beginning of the present century*; and on his return home related, that in a journey he had made with these Indians, they arrived, after remounting the Paraguay and traversing the lake of the Xarayes, at the mouth of a river, that falls into this lake; and that after ascending this last river for some days, they arrived opposite to a mountain under which it runs; that the Payaguas, before they ventured into this dark channel, light up flambeaux, of a kind of rosin, to prevent their being molested by bats of an enormous size, which they call Andiras, and which fall upon passengers, who neglect to take this precaution against them; that after pushing through the mountain, which cost them two days, they continued their journey for some time longer up the river, 'till they at last arrived at the entrance of another lake, whose opposite banks they could not discover; and then returned the same way they had advanced.

WHATEVER credit this relation may deserve, the Paraguay, after receiving many smaller rivers, though some in themselves pretty considerable, between it's issue from the lake of the Xarayes and the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude, is there joined by another, called Parana, which signifies Sea, on account of it's breadth. This river, after running a great way in a direction nearly parallel to that of the Paraguay, takes a turn, and falls into it by a north-east course. The Paraguay, deeper and narrower after this accession, flows directly southwards to the latitude of thirty-four degrees, where it is reinforced by another great river, called the Uruguay, that flows into it from the north-east; it then runs east north-

north-east to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, where it falls into the sea by the name of Rio de la Plata. This name even is very often given to the Paraguay, from the Parana's junction with it quite down to it's mouth; nor had the whole course of the Paraguay, any other name, as long as all the country, through which it runs, made but one province. But if merely by the force of custom, for which it is often very difficult to account, the Paraguay has lost, not only it's own name, in consequence of it's waters mixing with those of the Parana, but even that of Silver River, by which it was known above this junction, through a mistake I shall presently take notice of, it has been amply indemnified by another custom, equally unaccountable, of comprehending, under the name of Paraguay, that immense tract of land, which has no bounds but the lake of the Xarayes, the province of Sancta Cruz della Sierra, and that of Charcas, where even the Jesuits of Paraguay have a college and a great mission*, to the north; the streights of Magellan to the south; Brazil to the east; Chili and Peru to the west.

THIS vast country, besides Chaco, which is as it were the center of it, though not as yet reduced, contains the lake of the Xarayes, the provinces of Santa Cruz and las Charcas, with Tucuman to the west; all the course of the Parana and the Rio de la Plata to the east; and to the south all the rest of the continent as far as the streights of Magellan, where the Jesuits have of late begun to found some missions. It is pretty evident, that in so great an extent of land, watered by an infinite number of rivers, covered with immense forests, intersected by long chains of mountains, most of them very high, and some even reaching to the clouds; where all the low-lands are subject to inundations, for extent

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and

* The college of Tarija, in the province of las Charcas, and the missions of the Chiquites in that of Santa Cruz de la Sierra,

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and duration superior to those of any other country we are acquainted with; where there are every where great numbers of lakes and marshes, whose putrefied waters cannot but greatly infect the air; where the lands, in fine, that have been cleared and cultivated, are nothing in comparison to those, that still remain in a state of nature; it is pretty evident, I say, that in such a vast country, there must be a great variety in the temperature of it's air, as well as in the manners and character of it's inhabitants.

TO SPEAK in general of these people, we may affirm that they are more or less of an olive complexion; that they are commonly rather below than above the middling stature, though it is no uncommon thing to find among them persons of the highest; that most of them are pretty thick legged and jointed, and round and somewhat flat faced; that almost all the men, and even the children, especially in the warmer climates, go quite naked; and the women wear no more covering, than the most relaxed modesty seems absolutely to require; that those of every nation have their own particular manner of adorning or rather disfiguring themselves, sometimes to such a degree, as to make the most hideous appearance; that there are some however, who occasionally wear caps and other ornaments made of the most beautiful feathers; that almost all of them are naturally dull, cruel, and inconstant; treacherous, and excessively voracious, and cannibals; given to drunkenness, void of foresight or precaution, even in the most indispensable concerns of life, lazy and indolent beyond the power of expression; that except a few, whom the love of plunder or revenge has rendered furious rather than brave, most of them are arrant cowards, and that those, who have preserved their liberty, are entirely indebted for it to the situation of the inaccessible places, where they have taken refuge.

THE first Spaniards who entered Paraguay, made not the least doubt of their finding great treasures in it. They thought it impossible, that a country so near Peru should not contain a great many mines of gold and silver; and though it was not long before the mistake, upon which this false notion was founded, and of which I shall speak hereafter, came to be discovered, the world, for more than a century, continued to speak of Paraguay, as a country abounding in mines. This we may infer from the title of Argentina, which Don Martin del Barco gave his poem, as if the whole country was but one great mine of silver. But I shall here insert what Don Pedro Estevan Davila, governor of Rio de la Plata, wrote to his Catholic majesty concerning it in 1637*.

“ The sanguine hopes of which people entertain of
 “ being able to make great fortunes in these pro-
 “ vinces †, are particularly founded upon the belief
 “ of their containing metals and other precious arti-
 “ cles. Of this I have already sent your majesty the
 “ most ample informations, with a list of some authen-
 “ tic papers concerning them; and I know for cer-
 “ tain, that these papers have been deposited among
 “ the archives of the royal council of the Indies.
 “ People had some confused notions of these treasures,
 “ so early as the government of Don Ruiz Diaz Mel-
 “ garejo, who founded the city of Villarica; but after
 “ many endeavours to obtain a more distinct account
 “ of them, it appeared that what had already been re-
 “ lated of them, was too uncertain to be depended
 “ upon. The last person who undertook to discover the
 “ mines, was Manuel de Frias, son-in-law of Don
 “ Ruiz, and first governor of Paraguay, when this
 “ country was divided into two governments. He
 “ so

* Father Anthony Ruiz de Montoya, in his *Spiritual Conquest*, &c. fol. 48.

† The province of Guayra was that which they chiefly had their eye to.

“ so little doubted of success, that he entered into
 “ an agreement with your majesty on the occasion;
 “ and I have been informed by persons of credit,
 “ that he did every thing that lay in his power to
 “ fulfil his engagements; but that all his researches
 “ proved fruitless. I have already sent your majesty
 “ all the written informations concerning his enquiries,
 “ and I know for certain they are to be
 “ found among the archives of the royal council
 “ of the Indies. I have two reasons for believing
 “ that these papers deserve no credit. In the first
 “ place, the governors I have mentioned omitted
 “ nothing to discover these mines; secondly, all the
 “ witnesses that had affirmed upon oath the credibility
 “ of their existence, were persons prejudiced against
 “ the company of Jesus, and besides, wanted the
 “ necessary qualifications to draw up informations,
 “ fit to be laid before your majesty.”

It is true indeed, that people for a long time
 thought they could discern some indications of gold
 mines, in the neighbourhood of a town which the
 Spaniards built under the name of Xeres, pretty near
 the Paraguay, on the road from thence to Brazil, and
 the Portuguese afterwards destroyed; but these delu-
 sive appearances vanished at last, and the inhabitants
 of Xeres were always wretchedly poor. This was
 likewise the case with those of Villarica, whose founders
 were too hasty in decorating it with so pompous a title;
 and whose inhabitants, continually annoyed by the
 Portuguese, found themselves at last under a necessity
 of removing nearer to the Paraguay, where they
 built a new town under the same name with that
 they had deserted, and with as little reason *. It has
 however thriven the better for it's inhabitants not
 depending any longer on imaginary mines, which
 hindered them from taking for their subsistence surer
 and more consistent measures.

* It is now commonly called la Villa.

PEARLS were found for some time in a little lake at a small distance from the spot, where the city of Santa-Fé originally stood; and the author of the *Argentina* speaks of them with his usual emphasis; in spite of which, however, they were soon forgot. At last, a Spaniard, who had been taken in his infancy by the Abipones, observing on his return home, that the women were very fond of such things, related that the Indians, among whom he had lived, very often found them in their nets, when fishing in the above lake, but threw them back into the water as things of no value; and upon this, proper persons were dispatched to examine, on the spot, the truth of his report, which they found to be exact. It is very probable however, that either the fishery was not abundant, or the pearls not clear enough to quit cost; for I could never discover that they made any part of the commerce of Buenos Ayres, or enriched the inhabitants of Santa-Fé.

I HAVE seen a manuscript, that I think may be depended upon, which affirms, that in the city of the Assumption, capital of the province of Paraguay, the ladies adorn themselves with jewels, which are pretty common in that country. But the author does not inform us, what kind of jewels they are*; and I have not been able to discover any more concerning them in any other writer. Father Anthony Sepp, a German jesuit, who spent many years in the missions of Paraguay, and has left us some letters in his native tongue, that have been since translated into Latin, made likewise a discovery, which, if what he found had been more common, might have been very useful in this part of America. Happening one day to take notice of a very hard stone, which the Indians call Itacana, because it is full of little black spots, he

* Joyas, que no ay poco en el Paraguay, y las mugeres se hacen y adornan, como en otra qualquiera Ciudad,

he found, on throwing it into a very fierce fire, that these spots were very good iron; but these stones are very scarce. Mines of this useful metal have been discovered in other parts of the country, but so poor, that the inhabitants are obliged to procure from other places almost all the iron they make use of.

IN the vast plains, which extend from Buenos Ayres to Chili, and a great way to the south, some horses and horned cattle, that the Spaniards left behind them in the fields, on their evacuating that town a little after it's foundation, multiplied to such a degree, that, so early as the year 1628, a very good horse might be purchased for two needles, and an ox in proportion. Now indeed, these creatures are only to be found in pretty distant places. It is however but thirty years ago, that no ship left Buenos Ayres without forty or fifty thousand ox hides, and that number is not to be obtained without killing at least eighty thousand beasts, as no skins, but such as are statutable, or the skins of bulls, and of a certain measure, are allowable in trade. There are besides huntsmen, who, of all the oxen they kill, carry off nothing but the tongues and the tallow, which in this country serves for butter, lard, and oil.

BUT this, after all, is not sufficient to give a just idea of the multiplication of these useful animals in Paraguay; for the dogs, of which great numbers are likewise turned wild, the tygers and the lions, destroy more of them than can be well imagined. It is even said, that the lions don't wait as the tygers do 'till hunger pinches them, to hunt down the oxen, but often attack them merely for the sake of diversion; and that they have been seen to kill ten or twelve at a time, and touch but one. The dogs however are the greatest enemies of these animals. It is now more than twenty years, since the price of
tallow

tallow and hides rose seventy per cent. at Buenos Ayres ; and if ever this wild breed of horned cattle becomes extinct in the country, it must chiefly be attributed to the constant war the dogs make upon them, and which they will as certainly continue against the inhabitants, when they can find no more beasts to prey upon. But what is most surprising, there is no opening the eyes of the common people of Buenos Ayres on this occasion ; for a governor of the province having once sent some soldiers on an expedition against these troublesome animals, the poor men met with no other welcome at their return but shouts of derision and contempt, joined to the title of dog-killers, for which reason not one of them could ever since be prevailed upon to go upon the same errand.

THE manner in which they hunt the horned cattle, and for which they have no other name but that of *Matança*, or Butchery, is pretty singular. A number of huntsmen gather together, and repair on horseback to some great plain, entirely covered with these animals. They then separate, and with a kind of hatchet, whose edge resembles a crescent, lay about them with all their might, aiming at the hind legs of the animals in order to hamstring them : for this once effected, the animal falls to the ground without being able to rise again, so that the huntsmen may continue their game, 'till of many hundreds they have not left a single beast standing ; and some people pretend, that a good hand will in this manner disable eight hundred oxen in an hour ; but this account appears rather exaggerated. In the consternation, which at first seizes these animals, they crowd together in such confusion as to impede each other's flight, and thereby afford the huntsmen an opportunity of taking from time to time a little rest and refreshment. At last, after some days spent in *this violent exercise*, they return the same way they came,

came, find their oxen where they left them, dispatch them at their leisure, and carry off as much of them as they can.

We may well imagine, that the great number of carcasses these hunters leave behind them, would, if permitted to rot, cause an infection in the air, which might be attended with very disagreeable consequences; but clouds of Vultures*, as large as eagles, and other birds of prey, soon fall upon them, so that in a few days nothing remains but the bare bones. The horses are taken with nooses, and as they are born and bred wild, and of Spanish origin, are very handsome and swift-footed. The Indians, however, who are also very nimble, contrive to turn them towards places where they know they must meet with obstacles to stop their flight; and as soon as they get within reach of them, cast nooses about their legs, leap upon them without any further ceremony, and have soon tamed them. There are a great many mules in Paraguay, and they must be very useful in a country where there are few beaten roads, a great deal of up-and-down hill, and here and there a great many bad steps.

But the greatest riches of both the Spaniards and the Indians of this province, those Indians especially whom the jesuits have formed into towns or villages, formerly consisted, and in regard to many of them still consist, in the Herb of Paraguay. It is said, that the sale of this vegetable was at first so considerable, and enriched so many persons, that those, who before were reduced to the bare necessities of life, soon saw themselves in possession of ample fortunes. But as luxury, like fire, is always upon the increase, and not to be stopt as long as it finds materials to feed upon, the Spaniards, to support it, were obliged to have recourse to the
Indians,

* The people of the country call them Gondors.

Indians, who had voluntarily submitted to them, or had been reduced by the superior force of arms ; at first they made servants of them, but soon after began to consider them as slaves. And as they had no mercy for these unhappy creatures, many of them perished under a species of drudgery they were not accustomed to, and the bad usage with which their cruel task-masters punished their waste of strength, rather than their want of will ; others made their escape, and became most irreconcilable enemies to the Spaniards, many of whom by this means sunk back into their former indigence, without learning thereby to become more laborious. Luxury had multiplied their wants, so that the herb of Paraguay alone was no longer sufficient to content them, as it formerly used to do ; and though it were, many were too poor to purchase any, as the extraordinary consumption of it had considerably enhanced its value.

THIS herb, so famous in South-America and Spain, is but very little known in France. Though called an herb, it is the leaf of a tree of the size of a middling apple-tree. In taste it greatly resembles that of mallows, and in figure, when full grown, that of the orange-tree. It has likewise some resemblance to the Coca of Peru, but is more esteemed, even in Peru, where it is sent in great quantities, especially into the mountains, and wherever there is any mining going forward, the Peruvian Spaniards finding it the more necessary, as the use of wine in their country is attended with very bad consequences. It is sent there well dried, and in a manner reduced to powder ; but in preparing it, they don't permit it to remain long in the water, as it would then give an infusion as black as ink. They distinguish two species of it, though both are but one and the same leaf. The first is called Caa, or Caamini ; and the second Caacuys, or Yerva de Palos ; but
Father

Father del Techo pretends, that it's generical name is Caa, and distinguishes three different species of it, under the names of Caacuys, Caamini, and Caaguazu.

ACCORDING to this author, who spent great part of his life in Paraguay, the Caacuys is the first bud that has scarce begun to open it's leaves; the Caamini is the full-grown leaf, stript of it's ribs before roasting; and the Caaguazu, or Palos, that roasted without any such preparation. The roasted leaves are kept in holes made under-ground, and lined with cow-skins. The Caacuys will not bear transportation, nor does it keep as long as the two other kinds, which are sent in great quantities to Tucuman, Peru, and Spain. It is even certain, that this herb has on the spot where it grows, a bitterness, that considerably increases both it's price and it's virtues, and is not to be perceived any where else. To prepare the Caacuys, they throw into boiling water the leaf pulverized and afterwards reduced into a paste. As fast as this paste dissolves, whatever earth might have remained in it, rises to the top of the water, and is skimmed off. The water is then strained through a cloth, and after being left to settle a little, is sucked up through a pipe. They very seldom put any sugar into it, but only a little lemon juice, or certain very sweet scented pastils. When taken by way of vomit, it is made weaker, and permitted to grow luke-warm.

THE chief manufacture of this herb is at la Villa, or the New Villarica, which lies near the mountains of Maracayu, situated to the east of the Paraguay in about twenty-five degrees twenty-five minutes south latitude, this being the district of the whole country, in which the Caa-tree thrives best; but it does not grow on the mountains, but in the marshy bottoms between them. They sometimes send to Peru alone, no less than one hundred thousand arrobes, each

each of twenty-five pounds of sixteen ounces*, and the arrobe is worth seven crowns of our money†. The Caacuys, however, has no fixed price, and the Caamini sells for twice as much as the Palos. The Indians established in the districts of Uruguay and Parana, under the conduct of the jesuits, have planted some seeds of this tree, which they brought with them from Maracayu, and the trees produced from these seeds have very little, if at all, degenerated. But the new Christians make none of the first kind, keep the Caamini for their own use, and sell the Palos to pay their tribute, and purchase other commodities they stand in need of. The Caa seeds resemble those of the ivy.

THE Spaniards pretend, that they possess in this herb a remedy or a preservative against all their disorders. We cannot, indeed, refuse it the honour of being very opening and diuretic. It is said, that some persons having at first taken it to excess, it entirely deprived them of the use of their senses for several days; but what is most surprizing in this herb, is that it often produces quite contrary effects; as that, for example, of purging and nourishing, of giving sleep to the restless, and spirits to the drowzy. Those, who have once contracted the habit of taking this herb, find it a very difficult matter to leave it off, or even use it but moderately, though, when taken to excess, it not only brings on drunkenness, but most of those disorders, with which the too free use of the strongest liquors is attended.

ALMOST every forest of this country abounds with bees, which make their hives in the hollows of trees. There are here ten different species of these useful insects. That most esteemed for the whiteness of it's wax, and the delicacy of it's honey,

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* The arrobe is equal to 28 pounds Avoirdupois.

† The French crown is worth 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling.

is called Opemus, but it is very scarce. The Cotton-tree is a native of the country, and grows in thickets, like what I saw in Louisiana. It bears the very first year, but must be pruned like the vine. It flowers in December and January *, and it's flower, which resembles the yellow tulip, fades and withers away three days after blowing. The pod contained in the flower is quite ripe in February, and yields a wool, which is not only very white, but very good in every other respect. The Indians I spoke of, began to sow hemp-seed; but having found it a troublesome task to prepare it for spinning, most of them abandoned the enterprize. The Spaniards have, on this occasion, shewed more constancy than the Indians, and make use of hemp in pretty large quantities.

BESIDES maiz, manioc, and potatoes, which thrive very well in several places, and in which the food of those Indians, who cultivated the earth, chiefly consisted, there are in this country many fruits and simples, not known in Europe: I shall name and describe some of them, as occasion offers. There are some fruits in particular, of which the Spaniards make excellent sweet-meats. Some have planted vines here, which don't thrive equally in every district; but a great deal of wine is made at Rioja and Corduba, two towns of Tucuman. That of Corduba is greasy, strong and heady. That of Rioja has none of these faults; but at Mendoza, a town in the government of Chili, and situated in the Cordilliera, at about twenty-five leagues from Corduba, they make a wine very little inferior to that of Spain. Wheat has been sown in some places; but it is seldom made use of but for cakes and other things of that kind. There are every-where venomous herbs, with which some Indians poison their arrows;

* It is proper the reader should attend to the great difference between the seasons in Paraguay and Europe, occasioned by their lying at different sides of the Equinoctial Line.

rows; but the antidotes are equally common; and among others the herb called *sparrow's-herb*, which forms pretty large bushes, and was discovered and obtained it's name, in the following manner.

AMONG the different kinds of sparrows found in these provinces, most of which are of the size of our black-birds, there is a very pretty one, called *matagua*. This little creature is very fond of the flesh of vipers, against whom, for this reason, he wages a continual war. As soon therefore as he spies one of these reptiles, he whips his head under his wing, and gathers himself up into a round ball, without the least appearance of life or motion; he does not however cover his eyes so entirely, but what he may peep thro' the feathers of his wing, and observe the motions of his game, which he suffers to approach without stirring, 'till he finds it near enough to receive a stroke of his bill, which he then suddenly discharges at it. The viper immediately returns the compliment with another of his tongue; but the minute the sparrow finds himself wounded, he flies to his herb, eats some of it, and is instantly cured. He then returns to the charge, and has recourse to his herb, every time the viper stings him. This conflict lasts 'till the viper, destitute of the same resource *, has lost all his blood. As soon as the reptile is dead, the sparrow falls to work upon the carcass, and concludes the feast with a new dose of his antidote.

THERE are few countries which breed so great a number, and so many different species of serpents, and such other reptiles; but there are a great many of them no way poisonous, or whose poison is no way dangerous. The Indians know these innocent tho' frightful reptiles, take them up alive in their hands, and make girdles of them, without any bad consequence. There are some of these creatures twenty-

* By this one would imagine this sparrow-herb acts both as a styptic, and an antidote.

two feet long, and proportionably thick, that swallow whole stags, if we may believe some Spaniards, who assure us they have been eye-witnesses to their feats this way. The Indians say, that these monsters engender at the mouth, and that the young ones tear their way into the world thro' the sides of their mothers, after which the strongest devour the weakest. And were it not for this disposition of Providence, father Anthony Ruiz de Montoya, who seems to credit this account, observes, that it would be impossible to stir out of doors without meeting with these terrible animals. Among those who are oviparous, there are some that lay very large eggs, and make use of incubation to hatch them.

THE rattle-snake, so common in several provinces of North-America, is no-where perhaps more so than in Paraguay. It has been observed in this country, that this reptile suffers greatly when it's gums are too much distended with venom; and that, to get rid of this venom, it falls upon every thing in it's way, with two crooked fangs, pretty large at their root, but terminating in a point, and by means of a hollow in these fangs, pours into the wound it makes all the humour that tormented it. The effects of the bite of this, and many other species of serpents and snakes, are very sudden: sometimes the blood issues violently at the eyes, nose, ears, gums, and roots of the nails; but there are antidotes to be found everywhere against this poison. The most successful are a stone, to which they have given the name of *St Paul*, bezoard, and a poultice of chewed garlick. The very head of the animal, and it's liver, which is likewise eaten to purify the blood, are equally efficacious: the surest method, however, is to begin by making an incision directly in the part that has been stung, and then apply brimstone to it. Nay, this drug alone has been often found to make a perfect cure.

T H E R E

THERE are here likewise some hunting serpents, which climb up the trees to discover their prey, and from thence dart upon it when within reach, squeeze it so tight, that it cannot stir, and then devour it alive at their leisure. But when they have eat up whole carcasses, they become so heavy as not to be able to move, and, as they sometimes have not a sufficient degree of natural heat to digest such enormous meals, would inevitably become the victims of their own voracity, did not nature suggest to them a remedy, which reason certainly would never permit them to employ. On this occasion the monster turns up his belly to the sun, whose heat makes it putrify; the worms then breed in it, and the birds, coming to their assistance, feed upon a superfluity, which otherwise would most certainly kill him: the patient takes care not to let the birds go too great lengths, and in a short time, after this extraordinary operation, finds himself as well as ever. But it often happens, they say, that the skin of the serpent closes upon the branches of trees upon which he has been in too great haste to station himself; this is a scrape, out of which he must find it a much more difficult matter to extricate himself than the former.

MANY of these reptiles live upon fish; and father Montoya, from whom I have taken almost all these particulars, informs us, that he one day happened to spy a huge snake, whose head was as big as a calf's, fishing on the banks of a river: the first thing the monster did, was to discharge by it's mouth a great quantity of foam into the river; he then thrust his head into the water, and kept it very quiet, 'till a great many small fishes, attracted by the foam, had gathered about it; when suddenly opening his jaws, he laid about him, and swallowed in great numbers all those that were unhappy enough to lie within his reach. Another time, the same author assures us, he saw an Indian of the tallest stature, who happened to

be fishing up to his middle in water, swallowed alive by a huge snake, which the next day vomited his prey ashore quite whole, all to the bones which were smashed to pieces, as if they had been bruised between two mill-stones.

THIS monstrous species of reptiles never quit the water; and in the rapids, which are pretty common in the Parana, they are often seen swimming with a huge tail, and their head, which is likewise very large, above water. The Indians say, that they engender in the same manner with land-animals, and that the males often attack women, as it is pretended monkeys do in some countries. One thing however is certain, and that is, that father Montoya was one day called upon to hear the confession of an Indian woman, whom, while she was washing some linnen on the banks of a river, one of these animals attacked, and, as she said, offered violence to her: the missionary found her stretched on the very spot, where she said the thing had happened; she told him she was sure she had but a few minutes to live, and in fact expired, almost as soon as she had finished her confession.

THE rivers and great lakes, which never dry up, are full of caymans or crocodiles, from ten to twelve feet long. There are a prodigious number of them, particularly in the Pilco Mayo, the greatest river in Chaco, where they are called *yacaras*. When these monsters have made a hearty meal of fish, they come on shore, and lie on their backs, that the heat of the sun may help them to digest it. Tho' their scales are very hard and thick set, the Spaniards find means to kill them with their fire-arms, but the Indians have a pretty singular method of taking them in the water. They make fast one end of a rope to a tree, and to the other end of the rope tie a stick pointed at both ends; then, as soon as they spy a cayman, they throw the stick into his mouth, which is always open; but as the animal has no tongue, or it's tongue is exceedingly

ly small, the stick, by distending his throat, makes way for a great deal of water, and the more the cayman endeavours to get rid of it, the deeper it enters, so that he is soon suffocated; the Indians then pull him ashore, by means of the rope to which the stick is fastened.

THE cayman has under the paws of his fore-feet bags full of a substance, whose scent is so very strong, that it immediately ascends to the brain; but when dried in the sun, it becomes mild like musk. The female, they pretend, lays upwards of twenty eggs at a time, but the male breaks a great many of them with his claws; and as she buries them in the sand, the rivers, when they overflow, sweep away great part of what remain. It is said, that when the teeth of this animal are grown foul with the fish he has devoured, a little sparrow comes to clean them; but that another very often, as soon as he sees the monster prepare for this operation by distending his jaws, immediately rushes into his stomach, in order to prey upon his entrails. Allowing the fact to be true, how does this little invader get out again? Herrera pretends, that the caymans of Rio de la Plata don't attack men; I have however heard the contrary from travellers, who related, as eye-witnesses, several tragical histories in support of their assertions. Perhaps tho' they might have mistaken sharks for caymans, for it is certain that this great river swarms with sharks much larger than those of other rivers; and that they lie in wait for the oxen that come to drink it's waters, seize them by the muzzle, and stifle them.

In some parts of this country, there are *camelions* from five to six feet long, that carry their young ones about with them, and always keep their mouths open on that side from whence the wind blows. They are a very mild but very stupid animal. The *monkeys* here are in size almost equal to the human species,

have great beards, and very long tails. They scream in a frightful manner when wounded by an arrow, pluck it out, and hurl it back at the aggressor. *Foxes* are very common in some provinces: there are some near Buenos Ayres, which greatly resemble hares, and whose fur is very fine, and beautifully variegated. Nothing can be prettier than this animal, which is besides of so friendly a nature, that he comes out of the woods to fawn upon travellers; but it is proper to be upon one's guard against him, for when you think least of it, he discharges his urine, the stench of which is not to be equalled, and which is besides of so penetrating a quality, that no scowring can get it out of any thing it falls upon, so that whatever has been once infected by it, is fit for nothing but the fire. There are two species of *tatares*, or rackoons; one species are as tall as a pig of six months, have in the belly a kind of nacre or shell, and another in the region of the kidneys. The two fore-paws serve it for hands, and every paw has five fingers. There are likewise two species of *rabbets*, which the Spaniards call *apercos*; they have little or no tail, silver-grey hair, and their flesh is very delicate eating. Another kind of rabbit has so small a mouth, that a pismire can scarce enter it.

LIONS and tygers are every where common, since the horned cattle, Spanish horses, and hogs have multiplied to such a degree. The lions are much smaller and less fierce by a great deal than those of Africa, but the tigers are no where larger or more furious. The Indians, however, have discovered a certain method of driving away these animals. As they are very light and nimble, the minute they spy one making towards them, if they have no arms to defend themselves, they hurry up into a tree; the animal, unable to pursue his prey, surveys him with greedy eyes from the bottom of his asylum, and would there remain, it is probable, long enough, to oblige

oblige him to surrender at discretion, or let himself fall to the ground thro' weakness, had it not been happily discovered, that this animal cannot bear the smell of human urine; the Indian takes advantage of this discovery, and the tyger immediately flies to a sufficient distance, to give him an opportunity of making his escape. Those among the Indians, who make use of fire-arms, are still less at a loss on these occasions, for their aim is so good, that they have often been seen to shoot tygers dead while making a spring at them.

THEY distinguish three kinds of *deer* in these provinces; some are almost as tall as an ox, and have very branchy horns; they are most commonly to be found in marshy places. Others are larger than goats, and feed in the plains. The third species are scarce bigger than a kid of six months. There is little or no difference between the shamoyes of Paraguay and ours. The *wild-boars* here have the navel, or perhaps a kind of vent, upon the back. Their flesh is delicate, and so very wholesome, that the sick are permitted to make use of it. The plains of Chaco are covered with flocks of black, red, and white *goats*; but the white are to be met with nowhere but on the banks of the Pilco Mayo. Both deer and shamoyes always feed in flocks, like the sheep of Europe.

ANOTHER animal, pretty common in this part of America, is a kind of buffalo, called *anta*. It is of the size of an ass, which it likewise greatly resembles in shape, all to it's having very short ears. But what serves most to distinguish this animal, is a kind of trunk, which he extends and contracts at pleasure, and by which, it is thought, he likewise breathes. Each of his feet has three nails, to which they ascribe a sovereign virtue against all manner of poisons, especially to those of the left fore-foot, upon which he lies down as often as he finds himself
indis-

indisposed *. He makes use of his two fore-feet in the same manner with monkeys and beavers, and with equal facility. In his belly are found bezoard-stones, which are held in great esteem. In the day-time he brouzes upon the grass, and by night eats a kind of clay which he finds in the marshes, where he retires at sun-set. The flesh of this animal is very wholesome, and differs from beef in nothing but being more light and delicate. His skin is so stout, that when well dried, they pretend it is musket shot proof; for which reason the Spaniards, when they can get any, make skull-caps and cuirasses of it. They hunt the anta in the night-time, and it is an exercise attended with very little trouble. The huntsmen repair to the places where these animals generally assemble together at night-fall, and on their approach issue out to meet them with lighted torches, which so dazzle and stagger the poor creatures, that they tumble one over another to the ground. The huntsmen then fire upon them, and seldom miss a shot; so that at the return of day, they are sure to find great numbers of them dead or grievously wounded.

ALL kinds of volatiles swarm in almost every part of this country, and of geese alone they reckon in it six different species. The *ravens* here are white; the *sparrows* of a gold colour; and the *partridges* as large as hens, and in such plenty, especially in the vast plains that lie between Buenos Ayres and Tucuman, that travellers take them, like fish, with a line, without being obliged to alight from their horses or carriages. *Ostriches* and *sea-wolves* are likewise very common in some places. Among the fish found in the

* *Memoires de Trevoux*, October, 1751, page 2194. It is not said that this animal is subject to the epilepsy, or that he cures himself when attacked by it, by rubbing his ear with his left hoof, as it is said the original or elk of Canada does, whom the anta greatly resembles in other respects.

the rivers and lakes, there is one which differs in nothing from a hog, but that it has no teeth; and a *water-dog* or *canis aquaticus*, which barks like the land dogs of Europe. A missionary one day spied one of these animals, on the banks of a river, where having been wounded with an arrow, he fell a barking with all his might, 'till several others immediately came to his assistance, and transported him to the opposite shore.

1516. SUCH is in general this great country, esteemed by numbers of people one of the richest in the New World. It was first discovered in 1516, by John de Solis, great pilot of Castile, and that by mere accident. Solis had sailed from Spain to continue the discovery of Brazil, begun in the year 1500, by Vincent Yannes Pinson, who had accompanied Columbus in his first voyage, and two months before the Portuguese had the least knowledge of it. The first of January, 1516, he entered a port formed by the discharge of a river, which he called *Rio Genaro**, and took possession of it for the Crown of Castile, as Pinson had done sixteen years before, at Cape St Augustin, which he called the Cape of Consolation. Solis then continued to range the coast, and on turning it to the right, found himself in a bay at the mouth of a great river, to which he gave his name; but he did not think proper to venture his vessel a great way up it, as he found it to be full of rocks, shoals, and sand-banks; being loth however to return home without some knowledge of the river, he set out in his long-boat, and after ranging for some time the western coast, discovered some Indians, who seemed to invite him ashore, by laying at their feet every thing they had, and, as it were, to offer them to him.

DECEIVED

* That is to say, January River. The Portuguese call it *Rio Janeiro*, which signifies the same thing in their language.

1516. DECEIVED by these ambiguous demonstrations, he landed without any precaution, and with very few men, tho' resolved, it is said, to carry off some of the natives, and bring them to Spain with him. He did not even consider, that, in proportion as he advanced, these barbarians retired towards a wood, where they at last buried themselves, and he followed them alone in a manner. But he had scarce entered it, when a volley of arrows, discharged by people he could not see, killed him and all his attendants. The Indians then made a great fire without the wood, and stripping the dead carcases, roasted and eat them in sight of those who had remained in the boat, or had taken refuge in it, and who had now no other course to take but to return to Spain. Such was the miserable end of a man who passed for one of the ablest navigators of his time; but who, according to Herrera, was not endowed with all the prudence requisite to insure the success of an enterprise like that he was charged with.

1516-25. THE fate of some Portugeze, who a few years after penetrated into Paraguay by way of Brazil, was equally lamentable. On the reports, that now began to fill Europe, of the immense riches found by the Spaniards in Peru, Don Martin de Sousa, Governor and Captain-General of Brazil, resolved, if possible, to share their good fortune with them, and dispatched Alexis de Garcia, a man on whose courage, good sense, and fidelity, he could rely, on a journey over land to that distant country, in order to procure the intelligence requisite for putting his design in execution. Garcia took no company with him but his son, and three other Portugeze, with whom however he reached the Paraguay. Here he met a great number of Indians, and engaged, it is said, a thousand of them to follow him; he then crossed the river, and penetrated to the frontiers of Peru, where he pickt up some gold, and a great deal

deal of silver. On his return therefore to that part of the Paraguay, where the Indians had joined him, he formed a design of making a settlement there; for the use of such of his countrymen as might be willing to take advantage of his discoveries; and with this view he sent off two of his fellow-adventurers with dispatches to the Governor of Brazil, some ingots of gold and silver, an account of his journey, and the plan he had formed, remaining himself among the Indians, with his son who was very young, and another Portuguese; but his messengers were scarce set out, when the Indians massacred him and his companion, made his son a slave, and took possession of all his treasure. Nor had about 60 Portuguese, and a very large party of Brazilians, who on the receipt of Garcia's letters set out to join him, under the command of George Seddeno, any better success. The Indians on the road not only refused to assist them with provisions, but did all that lay in their power to cut off their retreat, and accordingly fell upon them one day so unexpectedly from behind the woods, that after losing their commander, and several men; they were oblig'd to fly precipitately towards the Parana, where to their great joy they met with some Indians who offered to ferry them over to the other side, beyond the reach of their pursuers. But the pirogues were scarce half way over, when their treacherous conductors, who could swim like fishes, leaped over board, after opening some holes, which they had stopt so artfully that the Portuguese had not before perceived them; so that of these unhappy adventurers, not one man escaped to relate the misfortune of the rest.

1525. ON E would imagine, that neither the Spaniards nor the Portuguese could have any temptation to settle in a country, of which they had no knowledge, but what was acquired by such tragical events; and it is certain, that they first thought of

of nothing less than making any use of Solis's discovery, when they received some news which filled them with hopes, tho' built on very slender foundations, of drawing greater riches out of Paraguay than any other part of America. Sebastian Gabot, or Gabato, a Venetian, who in 1496 discovered Newfoundland, and part of the adjacent continent, for Henry VII, finding himself neglected by the English, at that time too much taken up with domestic affairs, to think of any establishments in the New World, passed over into Spain, where the reputation he had acquired of being a very able navigator *, procured him the post of great Pilot of Castile. The famous ship, called *the Victory*, the only vessel of Magellan's squadron which returned to Spain, and the first which sailed round the world, had lately brought home spices and other precious commodities from the Molucca Islands, and this success induced some merchants of Seville to engage Gabot to attempt the same voyage with a fleet, which they resolved to fit out at their own expence. As Gabot however did not chuse to act merely as a servant to a trading company, he thought proper to provide himself with a commission from the Emperor, and having repaired to Madrid for that purpose, he there entered into a treaty with Charles V, and it was signed the 4th of March 1525.

THE substance of it was †, that Gabot 1525. should have the command of a squadron of four ships, in quality of Captain-General, and that Martin Mendez, who had been treasurer to Magellan's squadron, and came home on board the *Victory*, should serve under him as Lieutenant; that he should sail thro' the newly discovered Streights, then cross the South-Sea to the Molucca Islands, and from thence proceed on the discovery of *Tbarfis*, *Ophir*, and *Cipango*, which were then thought to be the islands of

* Herrera, third Decad, Book ix. Chap. 2.

† Herrera, *ibid.*

of Japan; that he should there load his ships with gold, silver, and the other most precious commodities the country afforded. It was himself that proposed this expedition to the Emperor; but whatever assurance he expressed of being able to make good such mighty promises, the merchants of Seville already began to repent the choice they had made of him, especially as they soon discerned the seeds of a misunderstanding between him and Mendez, on whom they chiefly depended for the success of the voyage. They even ordered their agent at Court to beseech the Emperor to name another commander, in case his Majesty thought the squadron might stay long enough to receive one.

THIS application proved ineffectual, and Gabot put to sea the first of April 1526, after re-inforcing his squadron with a fifth vessel, which a private adventurer had freighted at his own expence. Herrera says, that during this voyage he did not behave either as an able captain, or a skilful mariner; that for want of oeconomy he soon fell short of provisions; that he kept no measures with those who had not the good fortune to be agreeable to him; that on his arrival, without any provisions, at the Island of Geese*, a little way from Cape St Augustin in Brazil, the inhabitants received him kindly, and revictualled his ships, and that he repaid their good offices with the blackest ingratitude, by carrying off, in spite of their parents, some children of the first families on the island. In short, that on his arrival at the entrance of the bay, into which the river then called *Rio de Solis* discharges itself, he resolved not to proceed any further, as well because he had not provisions enough to carry him through the Streights of Magellan, as because the crews of his ships began to mutiny; and that after turning adrift on a desert island Martin Mendez, Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, who

* Isle de Patos.

who blamed his conduct in very free terms, he resolved to take an exact survey of the bay in which he then found himself.

- I say the bay, because several people think, that the mouth of the river ought not to be brought so low as *Cape St Mary*, where the land begins to take a turn from South-West to West, and at *Cape St Anthony*, distant from the former forty-five common leagues of Spain, or the whole breadth of the bay's entrance; but that we ought to abide by the opinion of those, who place it at *la Puerta de la Piedra*, opposite to *Monte Video*, more than fifty leagues from Cape St Anthony. I shall not, however, quarrel with the Spanish Geographers, who insist that Rio de la Plata is almost fifty leagues broad at it's mouth. It cannot be denied that this river is one of the largest in the known world; but there are very few which it is harder for ships to enter, or where they are exposed to greater dangers, or more frequently lost; for which reason the sailors call it the *Hell of Mariners*. But to make amends for these dangers, it abounds in fish, especially the gold-fish, which is caught in great plenty on the sand-banks, with which it's bottom is covered, and which form the principal danger. As soon as the water begins to grow sweet, it appears excellent; at first, indeed, if not used with great moderation, it is apt to bring on cholicks, laxes, and sometimes even bloody-fluxes; but in less than a month people accustom themselves to it, so as to have no more to fear from it. Besides being very wholesome, it has the very singular property of clearing the voice to such a degree, that one may immediately distinguish those who have constantly made use of it; but this advantage is lost little by little, by those who leave it off. Some memoirs attribute the same quality to the Uruguay and most of the rivers that fall into it. If this be true, it is probable that the Rio de la Plata derives this virtue from the Uruguay; but,

to

to be sure of it, we should know whether the first of these rivers possesses this virtue above the place where both unite ; a point, about which my memoirs are quite silent.

BE that as it will, Gabot easily overcame all these difficulties, and arrived in safety at some islands, the highest of them a little above Buenos Ayres, which he called the *islands of saint Gabriel*. The first he fell in with is about a league round, and afforded him good anchoring ground. Here he left his ships; and, taking to his boats, entered the channel between the islands and the continent to the right, and then the Uruguay, which he mistook for the Paraguay, as the Paraguay, besides its not being as broad as the Uruguay at their junction, was hid from him by the islands of St. Gabriel to his left. Meeting with a little river on the right, he called it *Rio de san Salvador*, built a small fort on the banks of it, and then detached some soldiers, under the command of John Alvarez Ramon, up the river, which he still took for the true Rio de Solis.

RAMON, after three days navigation, having the misfortune to run aground on a sand bank, was killed by the Indians, with some of his people ; the rest escaped by swimming, and made the best of their way back to Gabot, whom so melancholy an accident determined to return to the islands of St. Gabriel.

HAVING by this time discovered his mistake, he sailed about thirty leagues up the Paraguay, and built a fort at the mouth of a river issuing from the mountains of Tucuman, whose Indian name *Zacaranna* has been changed by the Spaniards into that of *Rio Tercero*. This fort he called the *fort of the Holy Ghost* ; but it is better known in the accounts of his voyages, by that of *Gabot's Fort*. After leaving a garrison in this fort, he proceeded up the river to the confluence of the Paraguay and the Parana, then,

finding himself between two large rivers, he entered that which appeared the broadest; which, as I have already observed, is the Parana; but, on finding it turn to the east, he returned to the confluence for fear of advancing too far into Brazil, and sailed up the Paraguay, where some Indians soon attacked him, killed five and twenty of his men, and took three prisoners; but he soon made them smart for it, by killing a much greater number of theirs. These Indians were probably the same with those who had killed Alexis Garcia; for we are told that Gabot recovered, by this blow, a great part of the effects taken from the Portugueze. As he knew nothing of Garcia's defeat, he looked upon all the gold and silver he took on this occasion, as the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood; and no longer doubted of it, when some Indians, whom the terror of his arms, or the courteousness of his behaviour, had engaged to enter into an alliance with him, not only supplied him with plenty of provisions, but likewise gave him bars of silver in exchange for Spanish goods of very little value. He, therefore, made no scruple of bestowing the pompous name of *Rio de la Plata* on the Paraguay; a name, which has proved a source of mistakes to those who did not know the true origin of it.

Just as Gabot was preparing to return to his ships with the treasure he had amassed, there arrived in his camp a Portugueze captain, called *Diego Garcias*, who had been sent by the captain-general of Brazil, to reconnoitre the country, and take possession of it in the name of the crown of Portugal.

As Garcias, on the one hand, was not strong enough to execute his commission in spite of the Spaniards, whom he did not expect to meet in such numbers on the banks of the Paraguay; so Gabot, on the other, reflecting that he himself was too weak to prevent the Portugueze making themselves
masters

masters of the country, in case they returned with superior forces, as they easily might, thought the best thing he could do, would be to engage Garcias by presents, to follow him to the fort of the Holy Ghost, from whence, after some days stay, Garcias set out for Brazil.

GABOT now finding his presence necessary in Paraguay, instead of returning to Spain, as he at first proposed, sent off Fernand Calderon, whom he had appointed treasurer to his fleet in the room of Mendez, with all the silver he had collected, and a letter for the Emperor, giving an account of every thing he had seen and done; pointing out the properest measures for securing the country to the crown of Castile; and beseeching his Majesty to send him sufficient succours for that purpose.

CALDERON and another captain, called George Barloque, whom Gabot had joined in commission with him, reached Spain by the beginning of the year 1537, and met with a very favourable reception from the Emperor. The sight of the silver they brought with them, being, it is said, the first brought from America to Spain, dazzled him to such a degree, that he not only approved of every thing Gabot had done, and granted him all his requests, but ordered a grand armament to be made for that country, at his own expence. Two years, however, having elapsed without Gabot's hearing any thing of these his good dispositions, he thought it his duty to return to Spain, lest any longer delay might give the Portugueze a desire, and afford them an opportunity to return to Paraguay. Having, therefore, named Nuno de Lara to the government of the fort of the Holy Ghost, during his absence, and left him one hundred and twenty men, and all the provisions he could amass, he set out to join his squadron, and immediately put to sea.

LARA, on his side, seeing himself surrounded by nations, from whom he could expect no respect but in proportion as he could command it, thought the best thing he could do, would be to gain over those nearest to him, which were the *Timbuez*; and he succeeded pretty well in the attempt. But his success soon proved fatal to him, in a manner he little dreamed of. Mangora, Cacique of the *Timbuez*, happening, in one of the frequent visits he paid Lara, to see Lucy Miranda, a Spanish lady, and wife of Sebastian Hurtado, one of the principal officers of the fort, became deeply enamoured with her. It was not long before she perceived it; and, knowing what she had to fear from a Barbarian, with whom it was so much the commander's interest to live upon good terms, she did all that lay in her power not to be seen any more by him, and to guard against any violence or surprize. Mangora, on his side, thinking that if he could but get her to his habitation, he might dispose of her as he pleased, often invited Hurtado to come and see him, and bring his wife along with him. But Hurtado as often begged to be excused, alledging that he could not absent himself from the fort, without the commander's leave; and that he was sure he should never be able to obtain it.

SUCH an answer as this was enough to let the Cacique see, that, to succeed in his designs upon the wife, he must first get rid of the husband. While he was, therefore, considering ways and means to do it, he got intelligence, that the husband had been detached with another officer, called Ruiz Moschera, and fifty soldiers, to collect provisions. Looking upon this, therefore, as a favourable opportunity, since it not only removed the husband, but weakened the garrison, by which the wife might expect to be protected, he posted four thousand picked men in a marsh in the neighbourhood of the fort, and set

set out for it, with thirty others loaded with refreshments. On his arrival at the gates of it, he sent word to Lara, that, hearing how much he was in want of provisions, he was come with enough to serve him, till the return of the convoy. Lara received the treacherous Cacique with the greatest demonstrations of gratitude, and insisted upon entertaining him and his followers. This was what Mangora had expected; and, he had, accordingly, given his men instructions how to behave, and appointed signals for those he had posted in the marsh.

1527-30. THE entertainment began with a great deal of cheerfulness on both sides, and lasted till the night was far advanced; when, the Spaniards rising to break up, Mangora gave some of his attendants the signal for doing what he had before-hand directed; which was to set fire to the magazines of the fort, as soon as the Spaniards should be retired. This was accordingly done, without the Spaniards having the least suspicion of the matter. The officers were scarce composed to rest, when most of them being alarmed by the soldiers crying out *fire! fire!* and jumping out of bed to extinguish it, the Indians seized the opportunity of dispatching them. The rest were killed in their sleep; and the four thousand men posted in the marsh, having been at the same time let into the fort, it was immediately filled with slaughter and confusion. The governor, though wounded, having espied the treacherous Cacique, made up to him, and ran him through the body; but, being more intent upon satisfying his revenge, than consulting his safety, he continued so long venting his now useless fury on the dead body of his enemy, that the Indians had time to intercept his flight; and immediately dispatched him.

THERE now remained no living soul in the fort, but the unfortunate Miranda, the innocent cause of

so bloody a tragedy, four other women, and as many little children, who were all tied and brought before Siripa, brother and successor to the late Cacique. This Barbarian, at the sight of Miranda, conceived the same passion for her, that had proved so fatal to his brother, and ordered her to be unbound, relinquishing to his attendants all the other prisoners. He then told her, that she must not consider herself as a slave in his house ; and that it would even be her own fault, if she did not become the mistress of it ; and that he hoped she had sense enough to prefer to an indigent forlorn husband, the head of a powerful nation, who would take pleasure in submitting to her, himself and all his subjects. Miranda might well expect, that, by refusing his offers, she should expose herself, at best, to a perpetual and most cruel slavery ; but her virtue got the better of every other consideration. She even gave Siripa the answer she thought was most likely to exasperate him, in hopes his love might change into fury ; and a speedy death put her innocence and honour beyond the reach of his brutal inclinations.

BUT in this she was greatly mistaken. Her refusals served only to increase the esteem, Siripa had conceived for her, and heighten his passion, which he still flattered himself he should be at last able to satisfy. He continued, therefore, to treat her with a great deal of lenity, and even shewed her more civility and respect, than could be well expected from a Barbarian. But his moderation and gentleness served only to make her more sensible of the danger she was exposed to. In the mean time, Hurtado, being returned with his convoy, was greatly surprised to behold nothing but a heap of ashes, where he had left Gabot's tower. The first thing he did was to enquire what was become of his wife ; and, being informed she was with the Cacique of the Timbuez, he immediately set out to look for her, without considering

sidering what dangers he thereby fruitlessly exposed himself to. Siripa, at the sight of a man, who was the sole object of all Miranda's affections, could no longer contain himself, but ordered him to be tied to a tree, and there shot to death with arrows.

His attendants were preparing to obey him, when Miranda, drowned in tears, threw herself at the tyrant's feet, to obtain the life of her husband ; and, such is the power of a passionate affection, it calmed the violent storm, which it had but a little before excited in the heart of a Barbarian. Hurtado was unbound ; he was even, sometimes, permitted to see his wife. But the Cacique, at the same time he thus indulged them, gave them to understand, that they must not, on pain of death, attempt to go any further lengths. It is, therefore, probable, he only meant this indulgence as a snare to obtain a pretext for recalling the conditional reprieve he had granted Hurtado, who soon supplied him with one. A few days after, Siripa's wife came to inform him, that Miranda was lain down with her husband ; the Barbarian immediately ran to examine the truth of the report with his own eyes ; and, in the first emotion of his passion, more to the satisfaction of his wife's jealousy, than his own, he condemned Miranda to the flames, and Hurtado to the kind of death he had but lately escaped. The sentence was immediately executed, and this faithful pair expired in sight of each other, full of sentiments worthy of their virtues.

1530-35. In the mean time Moschera had made some reparations at Gabot's fort. But, finding at last, that it was to no purpose to continue there, as the animosity between the Spaniards and Indians was now become irreconcilable, on account of the treachery of the latter, he embarked with the poor remnant of his garrison, on board a little vessel, which Gabot had left behind him ; and, after falling down the river to the sea, ranged the coast to the 32^d

degree of South latitude, where, having discovered a convenient port, he built a little fort on its banks, and, finding the inhabitants disposed to live in friendship with him, sowed a small tract of land. But he had not been there long, when the governor of Brazil sent to inform him, that, if he expected to remain in quiet possession of his establishments, he must consent to take an oath of allegiance to the king of Portugal, to whom all the country belonged. To this summons Moschera answered, that he was resolved to maintain his ground, till their respective masters had agreed upon a partition of the Indies. He was, however, very little able to keep his word, for want of arms and provisions. But a French ship having soon after cast anchor at the little island of Canaanee, opposite his fort, he surprized her, and by that means supplied himself with both. He then erected a little battery, with four pieces of cannon he found on board his prize; and, the Portuguese being come soon after to attack him, to the amount of 80 men, supported by an army of Brazilians, he, after letting them land, and even pass unmolested through a wood, gave them so warm a salute in front, while a detachment, placed in the same wood, attacked them in the rear, that they immediately dispersed; and all those, who, after being spared by the cannon, had not saved themselves by flight, were put to the sword. Moschera, not satisfied with this advantage, embarked with part of his men, and a great number of Indians, on board the vessels that had brought the Portuguese, and fell upon the town of St. Vincent, where he plundered the king's magazines. He soon perceived, however, that these successes, instead of serving to strengthen his establishment, tended only to the ruin of it, by making it an object so much the more worthy of the attention of the crown of Portugal. He, therefore, very judiciously removed his colony to the island of St. Catha-

Catharine, where he flattered himself the Portuguese would not be in such haste to pursue him. Yet he made no long stay here.

THE court of Spain had not, in the mean time, lost sight of Paraguay, though the news of all the Spaniards, that were settled in the country, having been either killed by the Indians, or obliged to desert it, joined to the absence of the Emperor, threw a damp upon all the resolutions taken to make good his claims to so desirable an acquisition.

BUT the Emperor, being at last returned to Madrid, began to think seriously of forming a powerful settlement on Rio de la Plata ; and the preparations made for it greatly surpassed those already made to establish colonies in any other part of America.

DON Pedro de Mendoza, great cup-bearer to the Emperor, was appointed commander in chief of the expedition, adelantado and governor, and captain general of all the countries that might be discovered as far as the South-sea, on condition that he should transport there, in two voyages, one thousand men, and one hundred horses, with arms, ammunition and provisions for one year, the whole at his own expence. He was, indeed, permitted to make establishments in any part, he thought proper, of the lands he might discover ; and gratified with a pension, for life, of two thousand ducats, with leave, besides, to levy the same sum on the produce of the countries, of which he was appointed governor. The other conditions were, that of three fortresses, which he was to build at his own expence, he should be hereditary Alcalde ; and Alguazil major of that where he might think proper to fix his residence ; that, after residing in his government for three years, he might return to Spain, and name a governor to succeed him, who, on receiving his commission, should be entitled to the same prerogatives he himself had enjoyed ; that though, according

according to the laws of the kingdom, the Kings, or Indian Caciques taken in war, were to pay their ransoms into the exchequer: these ransoms should be distributed among the governor and the troops, after a deduction of one tenth to the use of his Majesty. That, in case any treasures belonging to Caciques killed in war should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they should be equally divided between his Majesty and the governor. In fine, that the governor should take eight religious with him, to preach the gospel to the natives of the country, and provide all the posts with physicians, surgeons, and medicines. The Emperor then charged Mendoza's conscience with all the vexations and violences, which the Indians might, through his fault, suffer from the Spaniards; and declared, that their conversion being what he had most at heart, he would shew no mercy, to those, who dared to contradict his intentions in that respect.

ORDERS had been already given to equip
1535. at Cadiz, a fleet of fourteen ships, and Don Juan Osorio, an Italian, who had distinguished himself greatly in the wars of Italy, took upon him the command of it, in quality of lieutenant to Mendoza. Such great preparations, and the reports that had been spread of the richness of the countries watered by the Rio de la Plata, attracted so many persons, even of the highest nobility, that the first armament, instead of five hundred only, the number originally proposed, consisted of twelve hundred men, amongst whom were thirty noblemen, all the eldest sons of their families, and several Flemish officers. In a word, no Spanish colony established in the new world can boast so many great names among its founders; and the posterity of many of them still subsists in Paraguay, especially in the capital of the province of that name. This fleet put to sea in the month of August, 1535, being in the season fittest for that purpose,

pose, as ships, which happen not to arrive at the Bay of Rio de la Plata, before the end of March, run a great risk of coming too late for the North and North-east winds, and being overtaken by those from the opposite quarters, which oblige them to winter in Brazil.

MENDOZA's fleet, after passing the line, was surprized and dispersed by a terrible storm. The ships, however, commanded by his brother, Don Diego de Mendoza, and a few others, happily reached the islands of St. Gabriel. But that ship carrying the Adelantade himself, and all the rest, were obliged to take refuge in the port of Rio de Janeiro, where, on a bare suspicion that Osorio intended to supplant him, he very basely procured him to be assassinated. Though the Adelantade, it is probable, was advised to this step by many, who were jealous of Osorio's great merit, or envied him, as a stranger, his high post; a great many others were so exasperated at it, that some of them that resolved to remain in Brazil, and others were preparing to return to Spain, when the Adelantade, having received notice of their design, immediately put to sea, to prevent their carrying it into execution, and had the unmerited good fortune of arriving safe at the islands of St. Gabriel. Though Don Diego de Mendoza was greatly pleased at seeing his brother, he was so far from entering into his views, in regard to Don John Osorio, that he expressed the greatest concern for what had happened, and even made no scruple of declaring publicly, that he was greatly afraid so unworthy an action would draw down a judgment upon his brother and his enterprize.

THE ships being now united between the islands of St. Gabriel and the western banks of the river, Don Pedro, thinking the neighbourhood might afford a good situation for his first settlement, sent Don Sanchez del Campo to look out for a sure and convenient

venient spot for that purpose; and, this officer having found one, on a point which advances into a river towards the North, before the coast takes a turn to the West, Mendoza immediately ordered the plan of a city to be traced out there, under the name of *Nuestra Señora de Buenos Ayres*, because the air here is very wholesome. This done, every man, without distinction, immediately put his hand to the work, so that, in a short time, all were conveniently lodged.

1536. But it was not long before the natives of the country gave the new comers great reason to suspect, that they were no way disposed to favour this establishment of theirs; therefore, as provisions began to grow very scarce, the Adelantado sent out his brother with a detachment of 300 men, in order to obtain a supply by force, if he could not procure it by fair means. Some noblemen and a great many gentlemen would likewise serve as volunteers on the occasion. The second day after their setting out, they came in sight of a body of about 3000 Indians, posted at the other side of a little river, which falls into a marsh, and which it was requisite to cross, to proceed on their journey. Most of the Spaniards were for waiting, till the Indians themselves should cross the river; but Don Diego having directed it to be founded, and by that means discovered that it was fordable, gave orders for passing it without any further delay. The troops obeyed, but the first that landed were surrounded by the Indians, and charged with such fury, that they had not so much as time to form themselves. Besides, many of them had suffered their arms to get wet in crossing the river, so that they could make no use of them. However, as a great number of those left behind speedily arrived to support them, the Indians were repulsed with great loss. But their loss served only to exasperate them, and render them still more furious. The Spaniards, therefore, were

were at last obliged to retreat. Of those who left Buenos Ayres, on this expedition, not above 150 escaped the field of battle ; and of these almost one half died of fatigue, or of their wounds, during the retreat ; many lords and gentlemen, and among them Don Diego de Mendoza, the general of this little army, lost their lives on this occasion.

THE scarcity, which had prevailed at Buenos Ayres for sometime past, was now changed into a dreadful famine ; yet Don Pedro, afraid of giving the Indians a habit of spilling Spanish blood, forbid the inhabitants, under pain of death, to go into the fields in search of relief. But, as hunger is one of those extremities, which make people blind to the greatest dangers, and deaf, even to the most sacred injunctions, he placed soldiers at all the out-lets to the country, with orders to fire upon those who should endeavour to transgress his orders. A woman, however, called *Maldonata* was lucky enough to elude the vigilance of the guards ; and God twice preserved her by one of those exertions of his providence, to which public notoriety alone can extort belief from the incredulous, apt to take offence at every thing beside the common course of things. This woman, having for a long time rambled about the country, took notice of a cavern, where she flattered herself she might at last find a sure retreat, against all the dangers that threatened her : but she had scarce entered it, when she spied a lioness, the sight of which terrified her to the last degree. She was, however, soon quieted a little, by the caresses of this animal, at the same time that she perceived they were not disinterested. The lioness, it seems, was reduced to the last extremity, as, though her term for littering was expired, she could not get rid of her burthen. Maldonata, upon this, took courage, and gave the poor creature the assistance she seemed so earnestly to require. The lioness, being happily delivered, not only immediately gave her

her benefactress the most sensible proofs of her gratitude ; but never returned from searching her own daily subsistence, without laying, at the feet of Maldonata, enough for her's, till, the whelps being strong enough to walk abroad, she at last took them out with her, and never returned, leaving Maldonata to shift for herself.

MALDONATA soon after fell into the hands of some Indians, who made a slave of her, and kept her in captivity for a considerable time. Being, at length, retaken by some Spaniards, she was brought back to Buenos Ayres, where Don Francis Ruiz de Galan commanded for Don Pedro de Mendoza, who happened to be absent. Galan was a man, whose severity often degenerated into cruelty. Therefore, as he knew that Maldonata had stolen out of the city, contrary to orders, and did not think her sufficiently punished by a very long and very cruel slavery, he condemned her to death, and to a kind of death, which no man but a tyrant could have thought of. He ordered some soldiers to take her into the country, and there leave her tied to a tree, not doubting but some wild beast or other would soon come and tear her to pieces.

Two days after, the same soldiers being sent to see what was become of her, they were greatly surprised to find her alive, and unhurt, though surrounded by lions and tigers, whom, a lioness, lying at her feet with her whelps, kept at a distance. As soon as the Lioness perceived the soldiers, she retired a little, as it were to give them leave to unbind her benefactress, which they accordingly did. Maldonata then related to them the history of this Lioness, whom she knew to be the same she had formerly assisted ; and the soldiers remarked, that, on their offering to carry away Maldonata, the lioness fawned greatly upon her, and seemed to express some concern at losing her. On the report the soldiers made

made to the commander of what they had seen, he saw that he could not but pardon a woman, whom heaven had protected in so signal a manner, without appearing more inhuman than Lions themselves. The author of *Argentina*, the first author to relate this adventure, assures us, that he had heard it, not only from the publick voice, but from the mouth of Maldonata herself; and Father del Techo says, that, when he arrived at Paraguay, a great many persons spoke to him of it, as an event which had happened within their memory, and of which nobody doubted the truth.

I SAID that Don Pedro de Mendoza was absent from Buenos Ayres, when Maldonata was brought back to that city. He had, it seems, set out on an expedition up the Rio de la Plata, in quest of a remedy against the famine, which had already carried off 200 souls. Having stopt in this excursion to consider the ruins of Gabor's tower, he found the situation of it so very advantageous, that he built a new fort there, under the name of *Good Hope*. Some authors mention it by that of *Corpus Christi*. But his chief motive for making this new establishment was, his being told by Don Juan de Ayolas, his King's lieutenant, who had got the start of him in this expedition, that he might be always sure of provisions among the Timbuez, whom this officer had the good fortune of reconciling with the Spaniards; or at least, among their neighbours, the *Caracoes*. Don Juan de Ayolas had done more. He prudently left a detachment under Don Francisco de Alvarado, at the place where the fort formerly stood. Mendoza, exceedingly well satisfied with his lieutenant's conduct, ordered him to continue his navigation up the river, as high as he could go, and gave him three barks, and fifty men, for that purpose. He, likewise, permitted Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, and some other gentlemen, to accompany Don

Don Juan, recommending to him, at the same time, to transmit, within four months, an account of his transactions and discoveries, if he could not himself return with it.

MENDOZA had not as yet amassed provisions enough to put an entire stop to the famine at Buenos Ayres, where it was attended with all the horrors we so often find mentioned in history on the like occasions. But, some time after, Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, who went to Brazil in quest of a supply, returned with a cargo, and was soon after followed by two others, with Moschera and all his colony of the island of St. Catharine, besides a great many Brazilian families that had taken a liking to him. These seasonable supplies were of great service to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. But, as the number of them was at the same time considerably increased, though not enough to cover their country labours from the insults of the neighbouring Indians, who seemed, from day to day, more and more determined to extirpate them, there was the greatest reason to fear, that the famine would soon break out again with redoubled fury.

Don Juan de Ayolas having, on his side, pushed up the river as far as the place, where the city of the Assumption was afterwards built, met with a very friendly reception from the *Guaranis*, who occupy the country for a great way on the eastern banks of the Paraguay, but for a much greater way inland, even as far as the frontiers of Brazil. They even filled his vessels with provisions, which he paid for in goods which he had taken along with him for that purpose. He then advanced to the latitude of 20 degrees 40 minutes, where he discovered, to the right, a little port, to which he gave the name of *Candlemas Port*. And, as the *Guaranis* had assured him, that in this latitude, he would, by marching westerly over land, meet with Indians who had a great deal of gold and silver, he resolved to go in quest of them. He there-

therefore, caused himself to be put ashore opposite to Candlemas Port, to which he sent back his vessels, with directions to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, to whom he had delegated all the authority he himself had received from Don Pedro de Mendoza, to wait there for him for six months, at the expiration of which, he might, if he heard nothing of him, take what course his own discretion should dictate to him. He, likewise, left, at Candlemas Port, a small detachment of Spaniards, under the command of captain Vergara. But all these precautions proved fruitless; for, Irala, under pretence that his vessels began to grow leaky, remained at Candlemas Port but four months.

It is probable, that Don Juan de Ayolas had sent the Adelentade an account of these resolutions and dispositions of his; but that his letters never came to hand. At last, the want of news from him gave Don Pedro de Mendoza great uneasiness, as Ayolas was the officer of the whole colony, in whom he had the greatest confidence, and who best deserved it. He, therefore, dispatched Don Gonzales de Mendoza, and Don Juan de Salazar, to know what was become of him; and fell sick a few days after their departure. He had already taken a resolution to return to Spain; and, as soon as he found himself strong enough to bear the sea, took shipping, with his treasurer Juan de Caceres. He left Don Francis de Galan commander at Buenos Ayres; and, in virtue of the power he had received from the Emperor, named Don Juan de Ayolas his successor, having first appointed him his heir in case of death. At length, he put to sea, with a heart ready to burst with despair, and cursing the day he had transported himself to ramble after a chimera, and court dishonour in a savage country. He had soon as much reason to repent his attempting to return. His ship had scarce lost sight of land, when all the elements seemed

to have conspired against him. One day, his provisions being all spoiled or exhausted, he found himself obliged to eat of a bitch that was pregnant ; and her infected flesh, joined to the chagrin that inwardly devoured him, brought on a total alienation of his senses, which soon changed to a phrensy, in a fit of which he, at last, miserably expired.

1537-38. WHEN the news of Mendoza's death reached Spain, there were in the port of Seville two ships fitted out on his account, that waited only for a favourable wind, to sail to his assistance ; but, those who had advanced the money necessary for this armament, thought proper to stop them, not knowing who they should apply to for their reimbursement. The Emperor, being informed of this delay, immediately ordered, that the ships should be permitted to sail ; gave the command of them to the inspector Alphonzo Calrera ; and added a galleon loaded with ammunition and arms, under the command of Don Lopez de Aguiar. His majesty, likewise, delivered Caceres a commission for Don Juan de Ayolas, appointing him governor and captain-general of the province of Rio de la Plata ; and an amnesty for all those who had eat human flesh ; an abomination several had been driven to, during the late famine at Buenos Ayres, and to avoid punishment, had taken refuge among the Indians. Six Franciscan Friars were, likewise, sent on board the galleon, and, supplied by the Emperor with every thing requisite for the exercise of their ministry. But, though this convoy sailed from Cadiz towards the end of 1537, it did not arrive at Buenos Ayres till the year 1539.

1538. DURING this interval, Don Gonzales de Mendoza, and Don Juan de Salazar, whom the deceased governor had sent in quest of Don Juan de Ayolas, arrived at Candlemas Port, without being able to procure any intelligence of him ; but they were

were informed that Irala was among the savages of the neighbourhood, where they, accordingly, found him: They then made with him a great many excursions and enquiries after Don Ayolas; but all to no purpose. Upon this, they fastened to a tree, at Candlemas Port, a paper, to inform Don Juan, in case he should happen to come that way; of every thing it was proper he should know; and, above all things, to put him upon his guard against the Payaguas. This advice was the more necessary, as there is not, perhaps, a more dangerous nation on the face of the earth, since they cover the most savage dispositions, with the most engaging manners, and never make greater protestations of friendship, than when they are treacherously meditating some mischief. They are, besides, so expert at contriving means to execute their dark purposes, that it is no wonder numbers have been deceived by them, till a great many tragical events had discovered their cruelty and craftiness. These Barbarians have no fixed habitation, but are to be found every where on both sides of the Paraguay, and on the river itself, where they carry on a continual piracy.

MENDOZA and Salazar, after leaving Candlemas Port, fell down the Paraguay to the mouth of the most northern branch of the Pilco Mayo into that river, in the latitude of 25 degrees and some minutes; where, having taken notice of a port formed by a cape that runs South into the Paraguay, from the eastern banks of it, they were so taken with the conveniency of its situation, that they built a fort there, which in a very short time grew into a city; and is, at this day, the capital of the province of Paraguay. This place lies mid-way between Peru and Brazil, and at three hundred leagues from Cape St. Mary. Its founders gave it the name of the Assumption, which it still retains.

MENDOZA remained here, while Salazar set out for Buenos Ayres, which he found reduced to the last extremity. The famine had again broke out there, and was arrived at the greatest height. Besides Galan was so universally detested, that all the inhabitants would have deserted it, but for fear of becoming the prey of wild beasts, or of the Barbarians who surrounded them. Salazar's arrival, therefore, gave them great joy, which was considerably increased at the sight of the three vessels from Spain, under Calrera, which came to an anchor there two or three days after. As Salazar reported, that there was no scarcity of provisions at the Assumption, Galan and Calrera resolved to go there themselves to obtain a supply; and the first, having declared that he would take with him a party of soldiers, both those he picked out for that purpose, and those he left behind, were equally overjoyed; the first at the prospect of soon getting into a country where there was no danger of starving; and the last, at the thoughts of being rid of a commander, whose severity they thought equal to any other scourge.

BUT the first were greatly disappointed, when, on their arrival at the Assumption, after a great many dangers and fatigues, they found the same scarcity there, they had escaped at Buenos Ayres. Salazar, however, could not be accused of having imposed upon them, as it was on the strength of the good disposition of the Indians towards the Spaniards, he had flatter'd them with the expectation of plenty; and this good disposition had been rendered of no effect by locusts, which had devoured, in the grass, all the seed the former had sown; so that the commander of Buenos Ayres, who had reinforced his escort with half the garrison of the fort of Good Hope, found himself under a necessity of making all the haste he could back, for fear of increasing a famine in a place

place, in which he flattered himself with the hopes of enjoying the blessings of plenty.

At his arrival at the fort of Good Hope, 1539. he vented his spleen upon the Indians in the neighbourhood, called Caracoas; who had, it seems, been accused to him of having favoured the enemies of the Spaniards. Without examining whether the charge was true or false, he resolved to make them feel the smart of his resentment. He communicated his design to Don Francis de Alvarado, commander of the fort, and some other officers, who omitted nothing to dissuade him from so base a proceeding; but it was all to no purpose: and, as he was unwilling to engage in a war, which might delay him too long, and perhaps cost him a great many men, he made no scruple of adding treachery to injustice. After treating the Caracoas in the most friendly manner, he, one morning at day break fell upon them when they least thought of it; set fire to their cabins; carried off a great many of their women and children, whom he distributed among his soldiers; and then reembarked with Alvarado, who, it is probable, did not chuse to remain in a fort, which he foresaw would soon be attacked by all the Indians in the neighbourhood. Don Antonio Mendoza was left to command in his stead with 100 soldiers.

THIS perfidious behaviour immediately awakened, in the hearts of the Timbuez, all their ancient animosity against the Spaniards; and they resolved to rid themselves effectually of a nation, whose promises they imagined could never be safely relied upon. To be the surer of their stroke, they pretended an expedition against some other Indians, who, they gave out, were as much the enemies of the Spaniards, as their own; and then applied for assistance to Don Antonio Mendoza, who had the imprudence to give them half his garrison, under the command of Alphonso Suarez de Figueroa. The Timbuez re-

ceived this reinforcement with great marks of gratitude; and, that very day, the army began its march; but the Spaniards were scarce advanced a league, when they were suddenly attacked; behind, by a body of their pretended allies, that lay in ambush for that purpose; and in front, by those who conducted them. They fought, however, with the greatest bravery; but were, at last, overpowered by numbers, so that not a single man of them escaped.

THE Timbuez now flattered themselves, that they should have no difficulty in reducing those that remained in the fort; and immediately invested it with the most hideous shouts. Mendoza, judging that nothing but a desperate stroke could save him, made a sally upon the Barbarians, in hopes of cutting his way through them; but he lost his bravest men in the attempt, and himself received a wound that disabled him. He was, however, fortunate enough to regain the fort, where he had almost given himself up for lost, when, happily, two Spanish brigantines anchored before it. The commanders of these vessels soon perceived that it was besieged; and, as they had been sent by Galan, whom his conscience reproached with his treachery to the Caracoas, and who began to reflect, though a little too late, on the evil consequences that might attend it, they immediately landed some men to relieve the place. The Timbuez, on their side, at the sight of the brigantines, made their last efforts to carry it; but the men that were landed, supported by some discharges of cannon from the brigantines, obliged them, at last, to retire with considerable loss.

SOME days after this, Don Anthony de Mendoza dying of his wounds, the officer who commanded the brigantines, seeing no appearance of being able to preserve the fort of Good Hope, thought proper to demolish it, and take on board the miserable remains of the garrison. That of the Assumption was

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in pretty good condition, and Irala continued to take a great deal of pains to get intelligence of the governor. At last, after making a great many excursions to very little purpose, he returned to Candlemas Port. But, though he could hear nothing of Don Ayolas, the writing which he had left there for him, was no longer to be found. He then remounted the river; returned to the Payaguás, where he ran a great many risks, and was even wounded in a skirmish. At length, one evening, as he lay anchored at a good distance from the shore, he heard a voice, calling to him from the other side of the river.

He immediately sent off some men, in a canoe, to the place from whence it came, where they found an Indian, who desired to be conducted to the captain. As this Indian was alone and unarmed, they readily complied with his request. Irala having asked him what nation he belonged to, he answered to the *Cbanes*, inhabitants of the plains; and that he wanted to meet some Spaniards to inform them of the fate of one of their greatest captains, called Ayolas. At pronouncing this name, a flood of tears stopped his voice, which, after a little pause, repeated sighs again interrupted, till at length being a little come to himself, he made a shift to give the following account.

“CAPTAIN Ayolas, on his arrival among us, communicated to our Cacique his design of penetrating further, in order to discover whence some Indians had got the gold and silver, that had been found among them. As he was but badly escorted to undertake so long, so painful, and withal so dangerous a journey, our Cacique gave him a reinforcement. He then set out; and, at last, after many skirmishes with the Indians, he found out what he was come in quest of. On his arrival on the frontiers of Peru, he was pretty well received by the Indians he met

there ; and, indeed, he deserved it by his amiable behaviour, and the good order he maintained among those he brought with him. At length, he returned back to our country, loaded with gold and silver ; and our Cacique made him a present of some more. He then told us, that he intended to join his countrymen, whom he had left with his barks on the Paraguay, and, then return with a greater escort. Upon this, our Cacique ordered several of his subjects to assist him in transporting his treasures to the river, and I was of the number. We crossed vast deserts to avoid meeting with some nations he suspected ; and, at last, arrived at the place where he had left his barks ; but they were no longer to be found. However, we thought proper to remain with him some days longer, in hopes he might, at least, get some intelligence of them. In the mean time, some Indians, allies of the Payaguas, after having feasted us with their game, invited us to take some repose among their friends ; but this was only a snare laid by the traitors to deceive the Spaniards, who never suspected it ; for, when they had brought us into some marshes, where our march was attended with great difficulty, the Payaguas, whom they had informed of their designs, fell suddenly upon us, and massacred the Spaniards. Many of my countrymen, likewise, lost their lives ; and I, and all the rest were made slaves. Captain Ayolas had happily made his escape, and hid himself among some bushes ; but they soon discovered him, and conducted him to an island, where they put him to a much more cruel death, than they had done the rest of the Spaniards. Some time after, I was, happy enough to make my escape, and have been ever since roving about to meet with Spaniards, and inform them of these events."

IRALA would have been very glad to chastise the Payaguas for their perfidy, and recover the treasure

sure that had been both their inducement to commit it, and their reward when committed ; but the overflowing of the river would not allow him to follow them into their retreats ; and, besides, he had scarce a man left, that was not either sick, or exhausted with fatigue. Himself, had not entirely got the better of his wounds ; and, though he had, had something more pressing to take up his thoughts. He, therefore, made the best of his way to the Assumption, which already began to wear the face of a city, and where most of his officers had taken up their residence. These noblemen and gentlemen were respected as the conquerors of Paraguay. The dispatches from the court gave them that title. They even formed, for a long time, the council of the province ; and the Emperor, in most of his letters to the governors and commanders, ordered them to undertake nothing without their advice. We have seen, that Don John de Ayolas had delegated all his authority to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, for the time he should be absent ; and this officer made no doubt of his being acknowledged as governor general of the province of Rio de la Plata, till the Emperor should have named another ; nor did any one at the Assumption think proper to dispute this title with him.

BUENOS AYRES, in the mean time, was every day losing its inhabitants ; for the last provisions arrived there from Spain having been soon consumed, a third famine ensued, equally violent with either of the two former. Such of the inhabitants, as took refuge among the Indians, were massacred by the *Charuas*, who infested the whole country. At length Galan and Calrera resolved to repair to the Assumption, and as many of the inhabitants, as could find room in their vessels, thought proper to accompany them. Galan, finding, on his arrival, that Irala was not universally acknowledged as governor general, immediately declared

clared himself one of his competitors. But Calrera soon put an end to the competition, by producing a schedule signed by the Emperor, and which his Imperial Majesty himself had delivered him.

THIS instrument, which was dated the 12th of September, 1537, imported, that, in case the person, who might have been appointed by Don Pedro de Mendoza, governor of Rio de la Plata, should be dead without naming a successor, and the founders and conquerors of the province had not themselves put one in his place, he should assemble them, and make them take an oath to elect him, whom they should, in their conscience, think best qualified for such an important employment; that he should see, that the person elected by a plurality of voices was universally acknowledged by the rest; and obeyed, as one invested with the Emperor's authority. Calrera then proceeded to the execution of this commission; and Dominick Martinez de Irala, who had already for him the votes of most of the electors, was unanimously proclaimed governor and commander general, till his majesty should be pleased to name another.

CALRERA, before he dismissed the electors, proposed to them the abandoning of Buenos Ayres, where it was evident, he said, by many years experience, that it was impossible to subsist, till the Spaniards should be better able to command the respect of the neighbouring Indians, and obtain provisions from them. The sentiments of the assembly were divided on this head. Several represented the necessity of having a port for the reception of vessels from Spain, and how much the city of Assumption itself, situated at three hundred leagues from the sea, was likely to suffer, if no ships were to arrive from thence. To this the governor answered, that it would be an easy matter to establish a communication with Peru; and
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he had art enough to persuade a great many, that they might easily procure from thence all the assistance they could stand in need of. No one, at first, suspected, though it appeared soon after, that all the governor aimed at by this alternative, was to render himself independent; as, in case it took place, no orders from court could reach him, but very late, and with great difficulty; and, when they did, he could easily find pretences for eluding them, should they prove any way disagreeable to him.

THE council, therefore, assented to this plan, and Don Diego d'Abreu was charged with the execution of it. As to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, nothing could equal the joy expressed by them, at the news of such a resolution. It proved equally agreeable to the equipage of a Genoese ship, which, on its voyage to Peru with a cargo worth fifty thousand ducats, had been first stopped by contrary winds at the entrance into the streights of Magellan; and, having afterwards put into Rio de la Plata, had the misfortune of being wrecked there, on a sand-bank pretty near Buenos Ayres, beyond a possibility of saving any part of the cargo. The men escaped the danger of being drowned, but it was only to fall into that of being starved. There were on board this ship several Italian gentlemen, whose posterity, it is probable, still subsist in Paraguay: at least, we shall have occasion to mention some of them in the course of this history. The principal were Don Anthony de Aquino, Don Thomas Rizo, and Don John Baptist Trochi.

THE governor took care to send a plentiful convoy of provisions to meet the transmigrants; and, as soon as they were all lodged in the Assumption, he surrounded it with a palisadoe; established a police in it; and took a list of the inhabitants, who were found to amount to six hundred men, besides women and children. Some time after this, being de-
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rous of giving the Indians, many of whom had been already baptised by the Franciscan fryers, a grand idea of the christian religion, he bethought himself, for that purpose, of a general procession; and, accordingly, appointed one for the Holy Thursday following, in commemoration of our Saviour's passion. He then invited all the Indians of the neighbourhood to be present at this ceremony; but, as the bad usage which the Spaniards had already begun to give them, had not inspired them with any great affection for such masters; and many of them, besides, had embraced the gospel merely through interest or fear, few of them came, but in hopes of finding an opportunity to shake off a yoke, which, from day to day, was growing more heavy and insupportable. It is said, there came no less than eight thousand of them to behold this ceremony, without any other arms than their bows and arrows, without which, it was well known, they never appeared any where. But they knew, that these arms alone were sufficient to execute their designs, as they knew the Spaniards were to appear on the occasion, bare shouldered; and with no arms but scourges, and these to be entirely employed on their bodies. And now the procession was going to set out, when an Indian woman, servant to Salazar, who had always used her with great kindness, entered his room; and, seeing him ready to fall forth in the equipage of a flagellant, told him, with tears in her eyes, that she was heartily concerned to see him thus preparing for destruction; and, upon his pressing her to explain herself, led him into the whole affair. He, therefore, ran directly to inform the governor of what he had so seasonably discovered; and the governor immediately took the only course such critical circumstances admitted.

He pretended he had just received intelligence, that the *Japiges*, who had lately declared against the
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the Spaniards, were almost at the gates of the city ; and, after dispatching private orders to all the inhabitants to arm themselves, he sent to all the principal chiefs of the Indians, to beg they would directly repair to his house, and assist him with their advice. They accordingly came, not suspecting any design against them ; and, as fast as they entered, were fettered and shut up in separate rooms, till, all being arrived, he acquainted them with the intelligence he had received of their treacherous designs, and condemned them to be hanged. The sentence was immediately executed, in sight of the great number of Indians assembled about the city, who, seeing all the Spaniards under arms, not only remained very quiet, but publicly acknowledged they had likewise deserved death ; adding, that, if the Spaniards would but pardon them, they should have no reason to repent their indulgence. They afterwards made an offer of wives to such of the Spaniards, as were not yet provided with any ; and their offer was accepted. The Indian women, whom the Spaniards married on this occasion, proved fruitful, and tolerably agreeable in their manners and behaviour ; which afterwards induced a great many other Spaniards to contract alliances of the same kind. Some of them have since married Negresses ; and this is the reason, why there are now so many Meztizzoes and Mulattoes in this part of America.

1540. As the Emperor, in the mean time, received no news from Paraguay, and, for that reason could no longer doubt of Ayolas's death, his Majesty began to think seriously of giving it another chief, and such further assistance as it might be supposed to require. But the question was to find a man willing to contribute to the expence of a considerable armament, after the disappointments Don Pedro de Mendoza had met with. Charles V. however, was not long at a loss for one.

one. Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeça de Vaca offered to lay out on the occasion eight thousand ducats, being all he was worth in the world ; and his offer was immediately accepted.

It is very surprizing, that a man, in whom probity, prudence, piety, and the most disinterested zeal for the true honour of his sovereign, were eminently conspicuous, should not have proved a blessing to Paraguay ; and that his great merit should have served only to ruin him, and expose him to the most injurious treatment. His virtues had already undergone some very severe trials, in a voyage he made to America in 1528, as treasurer to the squadron of Pamphile de Narvaez, whose enterprize had been but one continued issue of misfortunes ; his vessels were dispersed by a storm ; and, that which carried Don Alvarez, having been wrecked on the coast of New Spain, the whole crew were made slaves by the natives. But Don Alvarez soon attracted the respect of these barbarians, especially by the great number of cures he performed, which made such an impression upon them, that they could hardly be withheld from paying him divine honours. The Spaniards themselves, on account of his exemplary conduct, considered many of these cures as altogether miraculous. Don Alvarez, on his return to Spain, maintained the reputation he had so justly acquired, so that the Emperor accepted his offers with great pleasure. His Majesty appointed him Adelantade of Rio de la Plata, and governor and captain general of that province ; on condition, however, that he should not assume the two last titles, till he had received certain intelligence of Ayolas's death, under whom he was to act merely as his lieutenant, in case this governor should be still living*.

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* The dignity of Adelantade is merely civil, and does not entitle the person invested with it to the first place, but in the

In the instructions which the Emperor gave Don Alvarez, he charged him, above all things, not to tolerate any lawyers or attorneys in his government, being convinced, he said, by experience, that law-suits tended greatly to retard the progress of colonies. He, next, ordered him to take care, that the Spaniards, who should cultivate the lands marked out for them for twenty-five years successively, should be considered as the proprietors of such lands*; and that all should have liberty to trade with the natives, and return to Spain, when they thought proper. He, likewise, declared, that it was his intention, Alcaldes should be appointed in every town for the administration of justice; that no settler should be prosecuted for debt for the first four years after his arrival in the country, nor pay, during the two* first any import duties, or any of the imports comprehended under the name of *Almajarifazgo*; that the privilege of recusation and appeal to the King's council should be inviolably maintained; that no one should be hindered from having recourse to his Majesty's justice, or from writing to him; that in criminal causes, where the accused appealed to the council, the proceedings prescribed in that case by the common law should take place; that in regard to those, who died intestate or without heirs, the regulations added to these instructions should be punctually complied with; that Don Alvarez should decide nothing precipitately, or without advice; and take care that the subaltern commanders and judges acted with equal caution; that he should not permit the interest of money to exceed a castellan†, or the King's fifth to be

the council for civil affairs, and the courts of justice; so that, in the army, an Adelantado may act as a subaltern officer.

* This concession, if it may be called one, seems better calculated to tire the patience of new settlers than animate their industry.

† A piece of gold worth about three shillings.

be levied upon any thing but gold or silver; that commons for cattle should be every where laid out; in fine, that the ordinary Alcaldes should be allowed to decide all such causes, as it was usual to carry before the tribunal of the *Santa Hermandad**.

DON Alvarez had no sooner received his dispatches, than he repaired to Seville, where he purchased two ships, one of three hundred tons, and the other of one hundred and fifty, with two caravals; and embarked on the four vessels 400 soldiers doubly armed, who had very cheerfully offered to follow his fortunes. From Seville he repaired with his little fleet to Cadiz, and from thence put to sea the beginning of November. In nine days he reached the islands of Palma, and waited there for a favourable wind, till the 26th, when he set sail for the Cape de Verd islands. The capitana, or largest of his ships, though new from the stocks, and in other respects, to all appearance an excellent vessel, made a great deal of water, during the passage by which a considerable quantity of his provisions was damaged, and his men greatly fatigued. At last, however, he in nineteen days reached Santiago, one of the Cape de Verd islands.

1541. THE air of Santiago is very unwholesome at this season of the year, and generally causes a very great mortality among the crews of such ships as have the misfortune of being obliged to breathe it; notwithstanding which, Don Alvarez did not lose a single man, during the five and twenty days he stayed at this island. This was considered as a very extraordinary exemption, and renewed the memory of the prodigies operated by him, during his captivity among the Indians. What happened a few days after, confirmed all his soldiers and sailors in their opinion, that heaven favoured their commander in a special manner.

AFTER

* This is a tribunal established for the surety of the high roads, and from whose sentence there is no appeal.

AFTER having past the line, he found, that, out of one hundred casks of water put on board the Capitana, but three remained ; and, therefore, ordered his pilots to make for the land. The fourth day, before there was light enough to discern any thing, the people on board were very much surprized to hear a grasshopper sing. A sailor, it seems, had, unknown to any body, brought one of these insects on board ; and this was the first time of its being heard. Upon this, some of the crew affirmed, that they must be very near land, as these creatures never fail to sing when they smell it. Don Alvarez, therefore, immediately sent a sailor up into the round top, who, the moment it was light, descried some great rocks bordering a very high land, in sight of which the ships continued their course ; the grasshopper never failing, during the whole time, to proclaim the return of day, though it had been quite silent at the Canary, and Cape de Verd islands.

AFTER doubling Cape Trio, in twenty-four degrees of south latitude, they entered the port of Cananea ; and arrived, the 24th of March 1541, at the island of St. Catherine, which Don Alvarez immediately took possession of for the crown of Castile, treating the islanders, however, with great kindness, as also the inhabitants of the opposite continent, where he heard there were two Friars, in no very agreeable circumstances. These fathers no sooner heard of his arrival, than they came to wait upon him, and informed him, that the Indians, among whom they had resided, had, in fact, a great aversion to the Spaniards, and no great affection for themselves in particular. Don Alvarez, therefore, promised to interpose in their favour, and his good offices had the desired success. It now began to appear, that he was blessed with a method of treating with the Indians, which never

failed of procuring him, even at the first interview, their esteem and affection.

In the month of May, he detached a caravel, commanded by the treasurer Philip de Caceres, for Buenos Ayres; but Caceres, having in vain endeavoured to double Cape St. Mary, returned to the island of St. Catherine, where twelve Spaniards arrived soon after in an open boat. They had made their escape from Buenos Ayres, being no longer able, they said, to bear the ill treatment of those who commanded there; they added, that a supply of men and provisions had lately arrived there; but that the famine, notwithstanding, still continued to rage there with great violence; and that, besides, the inhabitants, were constantly in danger of being exterminated by the neighbouring Indians. They, likewise, informed Don Alvarez, that at six score leagues from the place where he now was, a town had been lately built under the name of the Assumption of the blessed virgin; from whence to Cape St. Mary they reckoned, to go down a river the navigation of which was very dangerous, three hundred and fifty leagues; that they had received the most certain intelligence of Don Juan de Ayolas, and all those who accompanied him, having been murdered by the Payaguas; and that Don Domingo Martinez de Irala was considered as the author of their misfortunes, by not having waited for them at Candlemas Port, according to the directions left with him by Don Ayolas; that the royal officers harrassed the Indians, and treated the Spaniards but little better; that their design, in flying from Buenos Ayres, was to make the best of their way to Spain, and inform the royal council of the Indies of all these events; lastly, that Irala had been acknowledged governor general by the whole province, and commanded in person, at the Assumption.

FROM

FROM this relation, inconsistent with what we have already said of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres, unless we suppose that those who gave it, had been a long time absent from that place, Don Alvarez judged his presence was absolutely necessary at the Assumption; and, therefore, resolved upon going there by the shortest road, in spite of all the arguments made use of by his principal officers to persuade him to continue with the fleet, and touch at Buenos Ayres. He, therefore, ordered the Factor Peter de Orantes, to get intelligence of the route he might take by land; and this officer, after surveying the country, reported, that the first Indians he had met with, and likewise those of St. Catherine who accompanied him, informed him, that the shortest way was to follow the river *Habucu*, which falls into the sea opposite the northernmost point of the island of St. Catherine, and about nineteen or twenty leagues from the port where he now was. Don Alvarez sent again to examine this route, and, being again informed that it was very practicable, resolved to set out without losing any more time. He intended to have left the Friars we just mentioned, in the island of St. Catherine, to labour in the conversion of the inhabitants and their neighbours on the continent; but they pressed him so much for leave to accompany him, that he at last thought proper to grant their request.

THE 18th of October, after giving orders to Don Pedro Estopinan Cabeça de Vaca, to set sail with the Squadron for Buenos Ayres, with the first fair wind; and, after sending a party of his men, with six and twenty horses that he had still left, to wait for him on the banks of the *Habucu*, he took leave of the inhabitants of St. Catherine, whom he loaded with presents, and many of whom thought proper to accompany him, both to serve

him as guides, and take care he should want no provisions in his journey. He had still with him two hundred and fifty men, with whom he set out on the 8th of November, to join those he had already sent before him to the Habucu. After nineteen days march, during which his little army were often obliged to open themselves a road by dint of labour, they began to want provisions. But, being now arrived in a more populous country, they were soon met by a great number of Indians loaded with all manner of fruits and other provisions for their relief; and expressing, besides, the greatest pleasure at the sight of the new governor.

THESE were the Guaranis, who grew Maiz, of which they made the earth yield them every year two crops; and Manioc, with which they made Cassava bread. They, likewise, reared hogs, geese, poultry, and parrots. These Guaranis were of the same origin with those who lived on the eastern banks of the Paraguay, opposite to the Assumption; and both together form one of the most numerous and wide extended nations of the whole continent. It is even pretended, that they penetrated as far as the Maranon; that they rendered themselves formidable by their depredations, wherever they appeared; and that it was on this score they obtained their present name, which signifies a warrior. The *Chiriguanes*, who inhabit part of the Cordilliera of Peru; the *Tapez*, who had settled on the frontiers of Brazil; and even a great many Brazilians; and other nations we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, who speak the Guarani language; are, all of the same extraction; but all have not preserved the same dispositions, and are not equally fierce, and fond of human flesh; a difference owing to the roving or sedentary life they lead. Many of them treat their prisoners of war like
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like the Canadians. Moreover, they are all of very narrow intellects; and the greatest obstacle in civilizing them consists in their almost inconceivable want of forecast, their surprising ravenousness, and mortal aversion to any kind of labour.

THOSE, whom Don Alvarez first met with, appeared tolerably peaceable. He took possession of their country for the crown of Spain, but without letting them know any thing of the matter, and gave it the name of *Provincia del Campo*. That he next entered, and which he likewise took possession of, was pretty much of the same nature; and he called it after his family, *Provincia de Vera*; but these names subsist no longer. The first of December, he arrived on the banks of the *Iguazu*, a great river which falls into the Parana, between the 25th and 26th degrees of south latitude; and, on the third, discovered another, called *Cibogi*, whose bottom is paved with stones so large, and withal so well laid, that one would be apt to take it for the work of art. It is, moreover, so very rapid, that the men and horses could hardly keep their footing; so that they were obliged to be tied together, to cross it with safety.

THE good order observed by Don Alvarez, during his march, gained him, wherever he appeared, the esteem and affection of the Indians. They, therefore, gave each other notice of his approach, and never failed coming to meet him with provisions; which kindness he always acknowledged by paying them twice the value. His greatest attention was, to hinder any injury being offered them, or any thing being done, that might scandalize them. He never permitted any Spaniards to enter their villages, except those who were to buy provisions; and never sent on this errand, but those, whose discretion he could depend upon. The least liberty, that any Spaniard took with

them, was severely punished. This his zeal to prevent the Indians being scandalized or otherwise injured, made him soon repent his having taken with him the two Friars, he intended to have left behind at St. Catherine's, as they did not always behave in a manner suitable to the holiness of their character. They even separated from him without his knowledge; and it was not long before he found himself under a necessity of sending to look for them in a place, where he was informed their bad behaviour had made their situation very dangerous and disagreeable.

He was met, some time after, by a Brazilian, named Michael, just returning from the Assumption, whither he offered to be his guide. Alvarez accepted his offer, and dismissed the Indians who had hitherto served in that capacity, with a handsome reward for their pains and fidelity. Towards the middle of December, he found himself in the latitude of 24 degrees; and, in a few days more, in a country covered with cypress and cedar trees, and others not known in Europe, whose trunks were all full of excellent honey; particularly pines of an extraordinary species, being four or five fathoms in circumference, and bearing nuts enclosed in shells pretty like chesnut shells, but no bigger than acorns. These nuts the inhabitants of the country made into a meal, which was one of their best foods. The hogs and monkeys, both very common in this country, likewise fed upon them; and the flesh of the former acquired by it a most excellent flavour. A little farther, the Spaniards met with fields, where Maiz had been sown; as, likewise white, yellow, and red potatoes. They afterwards entered a mountainous country, the valleys of which abounded with canes containing a very wholesome and refreshing water; and, likewise,
worms

worms of a finger's thickness, which, fried in their own fat, appeared to the Spaniards a most delicious repast.

DON ALVAREZ, after this, bent his march towards the Iguazu, in order to embark there, and fall down to its junction with the Parana; but, being informed, that it was hereabouts, the Portuguese from Brazil, mentioned in the beginning of this book, had been massacred by the Indians, and that those inhabiting the banks of a little river called *Pequeri*, which rises within a small way of the Iguazu, and falls into the Uruguay, lay in wait for him, he took with him but fourscore men, ordering the rest to march, by land, on both sides of the river. On his entering the Parana, he found both its shores guarded by an army of Guaranis, with their bodies painted all over, and caps of feathers on their heads, who seemed resolved to dispute the passage with him; but he not only made them drop their arms by his engaging behaviour, but obtained considerable assistance from them. The Parana, in this place, is, about a bow-shot over, and very deep; notwithstanding which its rapidity is so great as to produce whirlpools, which render its navigation very dangerous. One of Don Alvarez's canoes was overset by one of these whirlpools, and a man in it drowned. This accident affected Don Alvarez the more, as he had not as yet lost a single man in his long and painful march from the sea to this river.

DON ALVAREZ, before he entered the Parana, sent to the Assumption, to desire the governor might send him two Brigantines; and was so much the more surprised, not to find them at the place he had appointed, as he had mentioned in his letter, that a great many of his men were sick, and the rest very much fatigued. In this dilemma, therefore, he embarked, upon rafts, such as were no longer in a condition to proceed by land, with fifty men to

defend them, in case they should be attacked. He then set forward himself with the rest ; and was soon met by a Spaniard sent from the Assumption to enquire, if it was really true, that there was a new governor arrived from Spain ; for, it seems, the inhabitants of that place could hardly be brought to believe so agreeable a piece of news.

As Don Alvarez had sent notice of his 1542. arrival, he was greatly surpris'd at so singular a question. He had, however, command enough over himself, not to let any one know what he thought of the matter. Besides, the Guaranis made him more than amends for this disrespectful behaviour ; for, wherever he came, he found the roads lined with men, women, and children, lifting their hands up to heaven, to bless God for having bestowed on them a governor, whom they, every where, heard so much good of. They brought him all manner of provisions, and even sent deputies to compliment him, which some performed in their own language, and some, in the Spanish. On his nearer approach to the city, most of the inhabitants came out to meet him, and expressed their joy, on his safe arrival, in terms sufficient to convince him, that the province stood greatly in need of a man, like him, to govern it.

At length, he arrived at the Assumption, the eleventh of March, followed by a great number of officers and other gentlemen, who came out to compliment him. Irala received him at the head of the garrison, attended by the officers of the revenue, and the council of the province. Don Alvarez then produced his commissions, which, being read with a loud voice, Irala saluted him in quality of adelantade, governor, and captain general of Rio de la Plata. Don Alvarez, on his side, confirmed Irala, in his post of king's lieutenant ; and all the officers

officers of justice, in theirs ; and every thing passed, in appearance, to the greatest satisfaction of all parties. But the sincerest joy seemed to be that of the army, and the common people. The Spaniards, whom Don Alvarez had left to follow him on rafts, did not arrive in less than a month after him. They were attacked by some Indians, who attempted, with long poles armed with hooks, to draw the rafts ashore, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in the attempt, if a christian Cacique had not come to the assistance of the travellers, with all his warriors. The Barbarians, however, wounded some of the Spaniards, but the Cacique had their wounds very well dressed, and took them home for some days, so that they all arrived in pretty good health and condition.

THE fate of these travellers added new lustre to the prudent conduct of the governor. It was deemed an incontestable mark of his superior merit, and of his enjoying the special protection of heaven, that, after traversing so great an extent of country inhabited by Barbarians, without meeting with any, but the most respectful and affectionate treatment, he had no sooner separated from part of his men, than those, who ceased to have him at their head, began to find, in the same Indians, the most furious and inveterate enemies. But many of those, who could not help allowing the justness of these reflections, took no pains to benefit by his example ; chusing to consider as a miracle, the manner in which the Indians behaved to him, rather than allow it to be the natural consequence of virtues, which they were no way disposed to imitate.

B O O K II.

Zeal of Don Alvarez to re-establish Buenos Ayres, which his predecessor had abandoned, and to civilize and convert the Indians, many of whom, particularly the Guaycurus, notwithstanding his great moderation, he is obliged to bring to reason by force of arms. Account of the Guaycurus and their country. A conspiracy against Don Alvarez; defeated. Expeditions up the Paraguay and the rivers falling into it, by him and his officers. Curious particulars of the countries visited by them, and the neighbouring countries; especially a rich country, greatly resembling that so much talked of, under the name of Del Dorado. Another conspiracy against Don Alvarez. He is confined; sent to Spain; and, at length, acquitted of the charges brought against him by the conspirators. Don Dominick Martinez de Irala, declared governor by them; undertakes another expedition up the Paraguay. Revolution at the Assumption during his absence.

DON ALVAREZ heard nothing of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres, till his arrival at the Assumption; when, his first care, was to take proper measures for its reestablishment. He immediately sent two brigantines there; and, soon after, two others, and omitted nothing, to put in a good state of defence, a place, whose importance he was thoroughly acquainted with. He zealously applied himself to gain the affections of the neighbouring Indians; and

and, being fully persuaded, that the best way to insure success to an attempt of this nature, and to attach them inviolably to the Spaniards, was to unite them together, in the bonds of one religion he made their conversion the principal object of his attention. The first step he took for this purpose was to assemble all the regular and secular clergy of the Assumption, in order to acquaint them, in the Emperor's name, that his Majesty charged their consciences with every thing relating to the propagation of the gospel, in these dark countries; he then distributed amongst them sacred vessels and ornaments for the altar, of which he had made an ample provision; and concluded by giving them his word, that he would support them, with all his authority, in the functions of their ministry; and let them want for nothing, when the worship of God required his assistance.

GREAT complaints had been made to him, that the officers of the revenue, under pretence of levying the Emperor's duties, treated the natives very cruelly. To remedy this abuse, he assembled the men of greatest note in his government, as well those of the regular and secular clergy, as those of the garrison and the revenue, and with them the Caciques of the Guaranis, and their missionaries; and acquainted them, that it was the Emperor's intention, the Indians should shew the greatest respect to those, who, in order to teach them the way to heaven, had been charitable enough to banish themselves from their native country, and submit to live among them; that, as this great prince had nothing more at heart, than to make them happy during this life, and to secure to them everlasting bliss in the next, he had given him the strictest orders to see that they were well used by all those they had to do with; and that he was resolved, to pay the most punctual obedience to his Majesty's intentions

tentions in this respect ; but that he expected, on the other hand, that they should behave to the Spaniards, in the same manner ; and renounce the custom, which he, with the greatest horror, heard they were given to, of feeding upon human flesh. The Indians, upon this, assured him, that they should cheerfully obey his orders ; and all withdrew, penetrated with respect, and equally charmed with his promises, and his gracious manner of making them.

DON ALVAREZ, in the next place, applied himself to repress the insolence of some Indian nations, who were constantly committing hostilities against the Spaniards. He began by the Agazes, or Algazes, who lived to the east of Paraguay, above the Assumption. These Barbarians, who had ever been the declared enemies of the Guaranis, were of the tallest stature, of a very treacherous disposition, to the last degree fierce and inhuman, and great robbers. The Spaniards, before the arrival of Don Alvarez, had made war against them with some success, and had obliged them to sue for peace, which, the Agazes, however, were resolved to observe, only till an opportunity offered of breaking it to advantage ; and, they had, even already, began to renew their incursions. But they no sooner heard of the arrival of a new governor, with a fresh body of troops, than they sent him a deputation of three of their Caciques, to promise him the most perfect and unlimited obedience. The first of the deputies added, that it was not his nation, that had renewed the war, but some lawless young men, who had been severely punished for their insolence. Don Alvarez thought proper to appear satisfied with this apology, and received their countrymen into favour ; but on condition, that they would no longer molest the Guaranis, or any other of the Emperor's vassals, threatening, that, in case they did, he would not, for the future, shew them the least mercy.

THE

THE governor, though thus intent on securing the peace of his province against its Indian enemies, did not forget the heavy complaints he had received of the revenue officers, who excised every thing, and thereby reduced a great number of families to such distress, that many of them had nothing left to purchase the most ordinary cloathing. He began, by supplying the most indigent, with what they wanted, at his own expence. He, next, suppressed such taxes as the officers had established, without a sufficient authority for so doing; and being informed, that these men began to cabal against him, he ordered them to be confined, and prosecuted according to law.

In the mean time, the Guaranis and some other nations, who had submitted to the Spaniards, made heavy complaints to him, of the *Guaycurus*. But, though he listened to them, with a great deal of goodness, he thought it his duty to examine if their complaints were well grounded, before he took any step to redress them; he, therefore, charged the two ecclesiasticks, and the two religious he had brought with him from St. Catharine's, to enquire into the matter; and, their report agreeing with the complaints of his Allies, he sent back the two ecclesiasticks, with fifty soldiers, to tell the *Guaycurus*, in his name, that he was very well disposed to live in peace with them, and even receive them among the number of his friends, provided they would acknowledge themselves vassals to the crown of Spain, and not molest those Indians, who had done so already; otherwise, he would let them see, that he did not want force sufficient to exact their compliance.

He even ordered his deputies to summon them three times, in this manner; but the Barbarians did not give them an opportunity of complying with his directions. After answering the first part, of
his

his message, by declaring, that they never would acknowledge the king of Spain for their sovereign ; and that they were firmly resolved to continue their hostilities ; they desired the deputies to withdraw, and even discharged some arrows at them, by which several soldiers were wounded. Don Alvarez thought it his duty, not to suffer so much insolence to go unpunished ; and the 12th of July, 1542, he embarked upon two brigantines, with four hundred Spaniards, followed by ten thousand Guaranis on two hundred rafts, for the opposite banks of the river. The 14th, all the troops were landed, and the governor sent a detachment of Guaranis, to know how the Guaycurus were posted. The Guaranis reported, that they were marching back to their towns, with all their families, hunting by the way, according to custom, so that they retreated but very slowly. Upon this Don Alvarez gave orders to pursue them ; and not to discharge any of their great or small arms, or light any fires in the night time during the pursuit.

THE 15th, the allies began their march, in the following order. A proper number of scouts, preceded the main body, in order to make useful discoveries ; and, by night, spies were sent out, to examine where the enemy encamped. The Guaranis formed a battalion, whose front extended a whole league. They all wore caps made of feathers ; and, on their foreheads, plates of a certain kind of metal, which, when the sun shone upon it, cast a great lustre. The Spanish cavalry appeared next, at a little distance, followed by the governor, at the head of the infantry. The march was closed by carts full of Indian women, and the necessary stores. About the middle of the first day's march, a spy, belonging to the Guaycurus, came to acquaint the governor, that the Guaranis had conspired to withdraw themselves ; and this intelligence

gence, whose author the Spaniards did not know to be what he really was, gave them some uneasiness. Don Alvarez, however, thought proper not to let the Guaranis know any thing of the matter; and, as the moon shone very bright, continued his march after night-fall, having first given the Spaniards orders to keep their matches lighted, and their arms in readiness against the first notice.

WHEN they had marched for some time in this manner, they arrived at a small, but very thick, wood, where the governor thought proper they should halt for the remainder of the night. But the Guaranis had scarce entered it, when a tyger, getting among them, caused some disorder in their battalion. The Spaniards, who, in consequence of the false notice they had received the day before concerning these Indians, entertained the most violent suspicions of their fidelity, took it into their heads, that they were now preparing to withdraw, or even attack them. They, therefore, immediately fired upon the body they formed, and wounded some of them. Upon this, the Guaranis all took to their heels, to gain a mountain in the neighbourhood; and, that very moment, as the Spaniards still continued to fire, two balls grazed the cheek of Don Alvarez, who had stepped forward in order to put a stop to the disorder. His secretary tells us in his Memoirs, that this shot had been levelled at him by some one or another, desirous of doing pleasure to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, who could not bear the thoughts of being a subaltern in a province, where he had commanded in chief; and, unhappily for this officer's character, his subsequent behaviour has given all the reason in the world to believe, that his ruling passion was to have no superior, and that he was no way scrupulous in the choice of means to make himself independent. It has even been the opinion of several;
that

that Don Juan de Ayolas, fell a sacrifice to his ambition.

DON ALVAREZ, however, continued to follow the Guaranis to the top of the mountain, where, on his first appearance, they all immediately gathered about him. He then set them right, by telling them, that the Spaniards, on seeing them in motion, thought they were going to desert them. The Guaranis answered, that, on their sides, they imagined the Guaycuras were coming to fall upon them, and that, in gaining the mountain, they had nothing in view, but to take possession of an advantageous post to defend themselves. Don Alvarez then addressed himself to the Spaniards, strictly commanding them not to give the Guaranis the least cause of suspicion or complaint; taking notice, that, if so numerous a nation should declare against them, they would never be able to maintain their ground at the Assumption, as the Guaranis could easily unite with the Guaycurus to drive them out of it. He, at the same time, ordered the cavalry to march first; and, in this order, proceeded till two hours after night-fall, when, the whole army halted a second time to take some rest and refreshment; after which they set out again, about eleven, in the greatest silence.

SOME time after, one of the governor's spies came to inform him, that he had left the Guaycurus building themselves huts. This intelligence gave Don Alvarez the more pleasure, as he was afraid the volleys of small arms fired in the beginning of the night had been heard by these barbarians, and made them hasten their retreat. However, he ordered his troops to march but slowly, in order to arrive by day break within sight of the enemy. He then distributed little crosses among the Guaranis, which he desired them to wear on their breasts or shoulders, that the Spaniards might distinguish them

them during the engagement; ordered hay to be put into the horses mouths to prevent their neighing; and directed the Guaranis to invest the Guaycurus, except for a small space towards the mountains, not chusing to reduce them to despair, as he knew they would, in that case, sell their lives at a very dear rate.

THE Spaniards and Guaranis soon after got within hearing of the enemies drums, to the sound of which these barbarians cried out with all their might; that they defied all the nations of the world to come and attack them; that their numbers were but few, but that they were the bravest men on the face of the earth; the lords of all its inhabitants, and of all animals. It is customary with them, to sing in this manner every night, when they happen to be at war, and think the enemy at no small distance from them. At day-break, they quitted their camp, and laid themselves flat on the ground; but the next moment perceived the army of the christians. At this unexpected sight, they immediately began to cry out, "Who are you, that thus dare to approach us?" And the Guaranis having answered them, in their own language, that they were come to revenge the death of the Indians they had massacred." "Draw near then, replied the Guaycurus, we will serve you in the same manner;" and at the same time, darted fire-brands in the faces of the christians. Then running to their huts for their bows and arrows, they fell upon Don Alvarez's forces with so much fury, that the Guaranis at last began to give way.

THE governor, upon this, having commanded Don Pedro de Barba to give the Guaycurus a discharge from his artillery; and Don Juan de Salazar to advance with the infantry, which he himself drew out in order of battle, ordered the charge to be sounded with the usual cry of *Santiago*. He;

himself was to be seen every where among the foremost, stopping those who endeavoured to cover him from the enemy; and this undaunted behaviour of his, along with the sight of the horses, which the Guaycurus were utterly unacquainted with, caused so great consternation among them, that, after setting fire to their cabins, they fled with the utmost precipitation to the mountain, through the opening that had purposely been left for them. Their number amounted to four thousand. Some Spaniards having advanced too hastily, while the cabins were on fire, two of them were killed; and the Guaycurus cut off their heads, after treating, in the same manner, two Guaranis whom they had taken prisoners in the beginning of the engagement. Don Alvarez pursued the runaways for some time. During the pursuit, one of them faced about; fastened upon the neck of a trooper's horse, who rode by the side of Don Alvarez; and never let go his hold, till he was killed; as were a great many others. The governor, at length, ordered a retreat to be sounded; and, after a short repose, marched back with all his army towards the Assumption.

DON ALVAREZ soon perceived, that he had a party of Guaycurus at his heels; for those Indians, knowing it was customary with the Guaranis to retreat, without looking behind them, as soon as they carried off but an arrow or any such slight thing from an enemy, and ramble different ways, were in hopes of picking up some of them by this means. But the governor, though with a great deal of pains, obliged the Guaranis to march in a body, and in good order, till they were got quite out of the reach of the enemy. The Spaniards made about four hundred prisoners of both sexes, and all ages, on this occasion; and, when there no longer appeared any enemies behind them, broke

broke up and hunted all the rest of the way home, so that they all arrived at the Assumption loaded with every sort of game, that the country afforded.

DON GONZALEZ DE MENDOZA, whom the governor had left to command there during his absence, informed him at his return, that several Indian nations, alarmed by the war he had declared against the Guaycurus, had sent deputies to know, if he would receive them as friends; in which case they even offered to join the Spaniards against all their enemies; but that these deputations appeared suspicious to him; and that he even imagined the sole design of them was to discover, if it was possible, to surprize the place, while the greatest part of the garrison was absent; which determined him to detain the deputies. Don Alvarez, upon this, caused them to be brought into his presence; and, not finding Don Mendoza's suspicions sufficiently grounded, treated them all with a great deal of kindness; and dismissed them loaded with presents to acquaint their caciques, that he was very willing to receive, as friends and vassals to the Emperor, all those who were disposed to live in peace with his allies.

THIS was not the case with the Agazes, of whom Mendoza made heavy complaints to Don Alvarez. These traitors, on a supposition that the town had been left in a defenceless condition, had gathered about it, the very first night after the army's setting out; and, though they retreated on finding their intentions discovered, had committed, in their way home, great disorders in the villages of the Guaranis. Don Alvarez, incensed at this behaviour, ordered the hostages, which they had given him on his granting them a peace, to be hanged; but deferred till another time to punish them personally for this breach of their promise. The *Xapuruéz* or *Itapuruéz*, a roving unsettled people, in the

neighbourhood of the Guaycurus, who had hitherto been very troublesome to the Spaniards, behaved with more discretion; they came in of themselves to sue for peace; accepted it on Don Alvarez's own conditions; and have ever since inviolably observed them.

As the late defeat of the Guaycurus had not sufficiently terrified that fierce and numerous nation, to leave the Spaniards any great hopes, that they would not, on the first favourable opportunity, recommence hostilities; Don Alvarez resolved, once for all, to prevent any future uneasiness from that quarter. But, as it was no easy matter to make him despair of gaining, by fair means, those especially, whom he had convinced it was in his power to reduce by force; he thought proper not to employ the last, till the first should prove ineffectual. He, therefore, began by taking from the Guaranis such of the Guaycurus as had fallen into their hands, after declaring to both, that it was the Emperor's intention, that the prisoners of war should not be treated as slaves; and added, that he would severely punish whoever disobeyed his Majesty in this respect. Having, after this, cast his eyes upon one of the prisoners that had been brought before him, and whose figure and countenance spoke greatly in his favour, he ordered him to return home, and let his countrymen know, that he was still ready to receive them into the number of his friends, on the terms he had at first proposed to them. This man executed his commission so well, that all the inhabitants of his village set out along with him for the Assumption. As soon as they made their appearance on the opposite banks of the river, Don Alvarez sent canoes to ferry them over; and twenty of their principal men immediately embarked, in order to wait upon him. Having received them in a very friendly

friendly manner, he was told by one among them, who was commissioned to speak for the rest, that his nation had made war upon every other nation, and subdued them all; but that they now found the Spaniards to be braver than themselves, and had, therefore, sent him to deliver up their arms; that the governor might give them what orders he pleased, and that they should cheerfully obey them. The ambassador added, that the Guaranis had never dared to attack them alone; but that, notwithstanding, they were willing to live in peace with them for the future, on the governor's account.

DON ALVAREZ made answer, that he was come into the country to prevail on the inhabitants to embrace the only religion that was true, and yield homage to the Emperor; and to establish a lasting peace among the several nations, into which they were divided; that, if they would but promise him never to disturb the peace, they might be sure to obtain from him all the favour and protection they could wish for; and that he would restore them all the prisoners he and his allies had taken from them in the late engagement. He even delivered them, on the spot, all those that were to be found at the Assumption; which made such an impression upon them, that they immediately swore inviolable allegiance to the Emperor. He then made them a great many presents, and dismissed them highly pleased with his discourse, but more with his behaviour. As we shall be often obliged to speak again of this nation, I think it my duty to take this opportunity of making the reader properly acquainted with it. He may judge, by what I am about to say of them, how necessary it was for the successors of Don Alvarez to follow his example in dealing with the natives of this vast continent.

I SAID that the Guaycurus were a numerous nation ; but it is only in comparison with most of those, who inhabit this part of the continent of America ; for they are very far from being so in proportion to the vast tract of land occupied by them. It is true, that a great deal of their country is almost uninhabitable, being full of marshes when the rivers overflow, and so dry and parched up at other seasons of the year, that the ground is every where full of great clefts and crevices ; and the inhabitants, to avoid perishing with thirst, are obliged to take post in the neighbourhood of some other marshes which never dry, and whose waters are very foul and turbid. The Guaycurus form three tribes ; all of them, a cruel, fierce, intractable people, and very troublesome neighbours to the province of Paraguay, whose inhabitants often see their country settlements full of them, when they think them at the greatest distance ; nay, they have often the assurance to offer to sale in one place what they have carried off from another. Drunkenness prevails among them to such a degree, as to almost destroy all the hopes the missionaries might otherwise entertain of being able to civilize them. They generally go quite naked, except the women, who wear a covering from the waste down to the calf of the leg. When the weather is very cold, which seldom happens in their country, they all wear short cloaks, with large caps made of skin, which they are always very ready to exchange with the Spaniards for wine or any other stronger liquor. They paint their bodies more or less, according to their age, and their rank in the army. The minute a child comes into the world, they bore its ears to hang to them some baubles ; and, as fast as the hairs appear, pull them all out by the roots, except enough to form a tuft on the crown of the head, and two crowns, of which this tuft is the center.

center. But this ornament is peculiar to the males ; for they do not leave a single hair on the heads of the girls. The boys are painted black till the age of fourteen ; and, afterwards, red, till sixteen, when they obtain a bracelet, which they wear a little above the navel, a belt, and a net work cap for their hair. Till this ceremony they are kept under great subjection, and any one may lay what commands he pleases upon them. It is customary to prick them early in several parts of the body ; and, though this operation, in the manner they perform it, is extremely painful ; children but four or five years old have been seen to apply for it very earnestly, and endure it with the greatest constancy.

BEFORE they give their children a name, they bore their lower lip to hang to it some trinket or other, which they call *Albata*. This ceremony is performed by their juglers, or old warriors. If there is any ornament in this, it is an ornament fit only for barbarians ; but I am more inclined to think, they do it to appear more terrible ; and it certainly answers this purpose ; for, what with the different colours, with which they daub themselves ; their almost total want of hair on their heads ; and the odd form of what they keep ; their want of eyelashes, which they say they take off in order to see the better ; their numerous ornaments of glass, shells, and metals, which they hang to their bells, and the jingle of which may be heard at a considerable distance ; their ears and their lips bored and loaded with imaginary jewels ; they make a most frightful figure, and such as strangers can scarce ever accustom themselves to.

By the subjection, under which they keep their children, the boys are early enured to war, and the girls to labour ; but, on this occasion, the laws of

nature, and the dictates of reason, are utterly disregarded. They take no pains to form their heads or their hearts, or inspire them with the least respect or attachment to those, from whom they received their beings ; nay, they often have the insolence, when strong enough, to strike their parents, without having any thing to fear from the laws of their country. Their villages are but a kind of spacious barns, divided, by partitions, into three great rooms or halls, and covered with a roof, barely sufficient to screen them from the heat of the sun ; for the least puff of wind is sufficient to carry it away. The Cacique occupies the middle division, with his family and his officers. Here likewise, all the arms of his subjects, are constantly deposited. The subjects live on both sides, where all the furniture appears, one thing a top of another, in the most disorderly manner. The Cacique, whose dignity is hereditary, receives great honours from his subjects, who acknowledge in him an unlimited authority, and always obey his orders with the greatest readiness and punctuality. His children, as soon as they come into the world, are committed to the care of some trusty persons, and sent to some distant place, where, according to the ideas of the people, they are pretty well educated. During this course of education, they see their parents but very seldom.

THE boys are admitted soldiers at sixteen ; and this first step to military preferment is very painful. It is always some distinguished veteran, who performs the ceremony. He, first, makes the candidate sit down by him ; and then begins to pull out, by the roots, the hairs that compose one of his crowns. This the boy must suffer without stirring, or making the least complaint. He, next, pricks him all over the body, and even in the most private and sensible parts, with a sharp pointed bone ; and with the

the blood, that issues from the numerous punctures, rubs his head. Then, he seizes the tuft of hair on the crown of the patient's head ; pulls it with all his strength ; ties it as hard as he can ; and wraps it up in a net. To conclude, he rubs him all over the body with a red earth, and declares him soldier. The new soldier is henceforth treated with honour ; no private person has, after this ceremony, any right to command him ; and he may do what he pleases.

THE degree of veteranship is conferred at the age of twenty, it being supposed, that at twenty, a man has acquired his full strength and vigour. The person, who intends to take this degree, causes his tuft to be cut off the evening before his reception ; and the crown of hair that still remains, to be reduced to a finger's breadth ; after which, he rubs himself all over the body with melted wax, or fish grease. The night following, he paints himself from top to toe, with different colours ; binds his head below the crown of hair that still remains, with a bandage of red thread ; covers all his body with little feathers prettily enough disposed and hangs to his belt little balls made with the same kind of feathers. Thus equipt, he takes into his hand a kind of drum, or rather balloon, well stuf with water, which he beats with a calabash, singing all the time, from day-break till about five in the evening. He, next, distributes among seven soldiers chosen by himself for this purpose, sharp pointed bones, with which they, four or five times, prick his privities through and through. Then, to conclude the ceremony, they rub his head with the blood that issues from the wounds they have made.

THE life of a soldier among the Guaycuras is a very painful one, in peace as well as in war ; they are constantly on the watch, that they may not be surpris'd by their enemies. Every town has a
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centinel placed on a little eminence, to give notice of every motion in the neighbourhood ; and, at night constantly sends out scouts, to scour the country ; and, besides, places soldiers up and down, who never cease whistling, to shew that they are awake, and on their guard. They are all up at the first alarm, when those, who cannot bear arms, immediately fly to some place of safety, where it is impossible to track them, they leave so little impression behind them upon the ground they tread on. They scarce use any other diversion, but that of shooting at a mark, and are, of course, excellent marksmen. Besides their bows, arrows, and mancanas, they have a kind of knife made with the jaw-bone of a fish. They, every year, attack some one nation or another, besides the Spaniards, against whom they carry on a perpetual war. They generally kill all the men that fall into their hands ; but preserve the boys, to marry them to their daughters, selling to their neighbours the children born of these marriages. They avoid, as much as possible, coming to hands with the Spaniards in the plains, because they have nothing to defend themselves against their fire arms ; but they have a hundred stratagems to attack them to advantage. They are so well mounted, that, when pursued, they soon reach posts, which they can easily hinder the Spaniards from penetrating. When they are told that the Spaniards are coming to attack them, they coolly answer, “ let them come ; when they have eat up all their biscuit, they must go as they came, to get a new stock.”

THE day a child is weaned, and the day it begins to run about with the rest, are both holidays in the town, where the child is weaned, or begins to run about ; but the return of the Pleiades, which they call the *kids*, upon the horizon, is a general holiday observed by the whole nation. They prepare for

for it, by shaking their matts, and beating their partitions. The men, then, form themselves into one battalion, and the women into another; and fall upon each other pretty seriously. It is a diversion, if you please, but is a diversion fit only for barbarians. The boys and girls, likewise, exchange some cuffs, but merely for form-sake. These engagements are followed by races; and, then, both parties mutually wish each other an accomplishment of all their wishes, and, above all things, success against their enemies. The feast always terminates in drunkenness.

EVERY town mourns for the death of its Cacique, and that of his children, and nearest relations. This ceremony consists in observing a strict continence, for a longer or shorter time, in proportion to the rank of the deceased, or the people's affection for him; in fasting, that is, in not eating fish, which is the thing in the world, next to wine, these Indians are fondest of; in putting on a sorrowful countenance, and not painting either face or body. The Cacique, as often as he happens to be in mourning, changes the names of all his subjects. On the death of persons of distinction, they immediately butcher a certain number of men and women, to bear him company in the other world; nor do they find it a difficult matter to obtain victims; there are always enough to put in for this honour. The funeral is performed with great ceremony. The body is decked out with the finest trinkets they can get. Those of the Caciques, especially, carry with them to the grave the most precious ornaments of the whole town. Nor is there any need of compulsion on the occasion; all pressing to give the deceased the sincerest proofs of respect and affection.

POLYGAMY is not known among the Guaycurus; but the bonds of matrimony are so very slight, that,
when

when the parties do not like each other, they separate without any further ceremony. In other respects, they do not appear to have the most distant notions of that bashfulness so natural to the rest of mankind : those actions, which require most privacy, being among them performed in the face of the whole world. The girls, who prove with child before marriage, either destroy their burden in the womb, or lay violent hands upon it, the minute they are delivered of it, in the natural way. The condition of the women is very hard ; they are treated like slaves, and never allowed a moment's respite. The girls follow the soldiers to the war, in order to wait upon them ; and never meet with the least indulgence. The husbands never appear to give themselves any trouble about their wives, but at their return from a campaign, when they present them with the scalps of those they have slain, the only marks of victory they bring home along with them. The women deck themselves out with these scalps, by way of celebrating the triumph of their husbands, who, on their side, adorn their heads with feathers, and their foreheads with plates of silver, or some other metal. The women likewise wear collars upon the occasion ; and, then, fasten those scalps to a post, about which they dance, singing all the time the praises of the conquerors.

WHEN the Guaycurus think themselves threatened with a storm, they sally out of their towns, the men armed with their *mancanas*, and the women and children howling with all their might ; for, they believe, that, by so doing, they put to flight the devil that intended to excite it. Daily experience is not sufficient to convince them of their mistake ; but, perhaps, they think that the devil would use them worse, if they did not thus intimidate him by their cries and menaces. This is the only divinity they acknowledge, except the moon, and the constellation called the great bear, to which, however,

ever, it does not appear, that they pay any manner of worship. As they do not cultivate the ground, they live entirely on river and land game. Nothing comes amiss to them. They eat lions, tigers, bears, and the most venomous snakes and vipers. Some people pretend, that they inure their constitutions to this kind of food, by the constant use they make of it from their infancy. Besides, all the Indians of South America have very hot stomachs.

To return to Don Alvarez, he was now chiefly employed in taking proper measures to assist the Spaniards he had sent, by sea, from the island of St. Catherine to Buenos Ayres ; and, for this purpose, he, at last, dispatched two brigantines, loaded with all manner of civil and military stores, and manned by one hundred men, under the command of Don Gonzalez de Mendoza. He, then, sent a detachment of his troops against the Agagez, who suffered themselves to be surprised, and lost a great number of men, besides fourteen prisoners, who were immediately hanged. This execution had its desired effect. The whole nation implored the governor's mercy, and submitted to all the conditions he thought proper to prescribe, especially when they heard of his having taken another measure, which spread his reputation all over the country ; and rendered his name as terrible to the Indians, as it had been before dear to them.

He had received intelligence, it seems, that the son of the unfortunate Alexis Garcia was still a captive among the Indians, who had killed his father, and carried off his treasures ; and thereupon sent to beg they would return him their prisoner ; but these barbarians butchered all his messengers, except one, whom they sent back to acquaint him, that, if he dared to present himself before them, they would treat him in the same manner they had done his deputies. Don Alvarez, incensed at this affront,

front, ordered his nephew Don Alphonso Riquelmi, to pick out three hundred Spaniards, and a thousand Indians ; and march against these barbarians, and make them sensible, that he was not to be insulted with impunity. Riquelmi, accordingly, set out ; but found them upon their guard, in great numbers, and very advantageously posted. He charged them, however, so suddenly, that he immediately threw them into disorder, killed three thousand, and made four thousand prisoners. His victory, indeed, cost him something, for he lost fifty of his best men on the occasion.

DON ALVAREZ'S joy for the success of this expedition was soon troubled by the arrival of four brigantines from Buenos Ayres, with Estopinan Cabelca de Vaca, and all the Spaniards, whom the governor had sent by sea from the island of St. Catherine. Don Estopinan acquainted the governor, that, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, he found a letter there, signed by Don Domingo Martínez de Irala, and Alphonso Cabrera, with orders to evacuate it, as the inhabitants were daily in danger of perishing by hunger, or the arrows of the Indians. He added, that five and twenty Spaniards had taken refuge on the coast of Brazil ; that, had the assistance brought those left behind arrived but twenty-four hours later, they must all have inevitably perished, one way or another ; that, his arrival having given the inhabitants some spirits, he had taken measures to alter the situation of the town, and remove all the Spaniards to the mouth of the river St. John ; but, as winter came on in the mean time, and all the rivers had overflowed their banks, he thought the only step he could take, was to conduct to the Assumption all his men, and all the remaining inhabitants.

MENDOZA, who, as we just now said, had but just set out for the relief of Buenos Ayres, had been still
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more unfortunate, and run much greater risks. One of his vessels loaded with provisions was wrecked, and some of the crew drowned. The ship, which carried himself, being moored close in shore to a tree, an earthquake threw the tree upon the ship, and, by that means, overset her. The rest of the brigantines suffered as much; and fourteen persons belonging to them were drowned or crushed to death, so that it was with great difficulty Mendoza reached the Assumption, where he soon after had the mortification of being present at a much more terrible disaster.

ON the fourth of February, 1543, an Indian woman, servant to one of the inhabitants, carelessly shaking her hammock, which happened to take fire, some of the sparks flew, unobserved, into the partitions of the room, which was of straw; so that, in a few minutes, the whole house was in flames. The fire soon gained all those that surrounded it; and carried by a strong wind, soon reached the rest, and consumed two hundred. Its inhabitants had no time to save any thing but their arms; their very poultry, and most of their other domestic animals having been burnt. There remained but fifty houses, separated from the rest by water. Thus most of the inhabitants saw themselves, in a moment, without cloaths, without food, without furniture, or merchandize; and exposed, withal, for want of house room, to all the injuries of the weather; but they had a great resource left in their governor. He, first, provided against the most pressing necessities, and sent to all the Indian towns, to buy provisions at his own expence. He then furnished, with equal generosity, the money requisite to supply the other wants of the inhabitants, so that all the houses, which had hitherto consisted of nothing but straw, were, with inconceivable dispatch, rebuilt of earth.

DON

DON ALVAREZ soon received some news, that consoled him a little for such a train of disasters. In the month of November, of the preceding year, he had, conformably to his instructions, and, with the advice of his council, formed a resolution to remount the Parágua as high as possible. He intended to have been himself of this expedition; but, as his presence was become, from day to day, more necessary at the Assumption, he thought he had better let somebody else, duly qualified for such an undertaking, make the first essay; and for this purpose cast his eye upon his lieutenant, whom he knew to be a man of resolution; and he was, besides, glad of having a genteel pretext to remove from the Assumption. He, therefore, told him, that he did not know any one fitter for an attempt, the success of which the emperor had greatly at heart; and gave him his word, that he would represent all the services he might render his majesty on the occasion, in the most advantageous light.

DON ALVAREZ earnestly recommended to him, if he could not get quite up to the source of the river, at least, to push as near it as he possibly could; to take an exact account of the different nations inhabiting its banks; to send, from time to time, parties of Indians, with some Spaniards, into the inland countries, and even penetrate, if possible, into Peru, as he had agreed with Don Christophoro Vaca de Castro, to endeavour to establish a communication between that kingdom and Paraguay. Irala expressed great satisfaction at these marks of his general's esteem and confidence, and, being provided with three stout brigantines manned with ninety Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, and plentifully stored with provisions of every kind, set out the 20th of November, 1542; and, after remounting the river two hundred and fifty leagues by estimation, arrived at the mouth of the lake of
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the Xarayez, where he discovered a port on the western shore, and called it *King's Port*, because he entered it on the Epiphany, or twelfth-day. After taking a little rest here, he set forward by land towards the west, with all his Indians and Spaniards except a sufficient number, whom he left behind, to take care of the vessels. He met on the road with several nations, who had a great deal of wrought gold and silver; but he could never discover whence they obtained it. However, he assured the governor at his return, that he might have easily penetrated that way into Peru, had he been in a better condition to awe the Indians, whom he every where met with. He even added, that those in the neighbourhood of King's Port longed greatly to see the Spaniards and their general among them; but, perhaps, he had reasons of his own for making this last part of the story.

Be that as it will, some time after Irala's return to the Assumption, Riguelmi arrived there, from his expedition against the murderers of Alexis Garcia; and Don Alvarez, at last, on the report of these two officers, resolved not to defer any longer taking the same rout his lieutenant had pursued, and even to get nearer Peru, if possible. He had already built ten brigantines for this voyage; and having given orders to fit them out directly, he sent Gonzalez de Mendoza to buy provisions, in some Indian towns above up the river, the country of the Guaranis; but the Indians not only refused to sell him any, but expressed great inveteracy against the Spaniards; upon which, Don Alvarez sent Irala to his assistance, with orders, however, to employ caresses and presents, to engage them to do with a good grace, what the Spaniards could to oblige them to do by force. This method succeeded; and two Caciques of these Indians followed Irala to the Assumption; did ho-

mage to the governor; and promised to obey, with the greatest punctuality, all the orders he might hereafter be pleased to give them.

EVERY thing was now ready for his departure, when he received intelligence, that the two friars, whom he had brought with him from the island of St. Catherine, were privately set out from the Assumption, with letters to the Emperor, accusing him of having filled the province with trouble and confusion, by the bad use he made of his authority. It is likewise said, that, in order to prevent a discovery of what they were about, they confined a number of Indian girls, whom they had been ordered to instruct; and carried them off with them. It is not known what they intended by so doing; but it is certain, that the Cacique of the town, whence the poor creatures had been taken, came to complain of so shameful an action to the governor; and the governor having immediately sent after their conductors, five and thirty girls were found with them. The friars had sent before them some Spaniards, who were to return with them to Spain, and a Brazilian, whom they had seduced from the governor's service, in which he was very useful to the Emperor. This man, it is probable, was to be their guide to the coast of Brazil, towards which, it seems, they had directed their course.

THE Indian girls and their treacherous conductors being brought back to the Assumption; soon after their arrival, Don Alvarez was given to understand, that the revenue officers were at the bottom of this villainous affair; and some letters, that were found upon the two friars, convinced him thoroughly of it. Upon this, therefore, he immediately ordered the criminals to be arrested; but, though he now saw how much he was to blame for having stopped the prosecution, he had ordered
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to be commenced against them the preceding year; and still more, for having released them from their confinement, his natural goodness again got the better of his justice, and blinded him to such a degree, as to prevent his reflecting, that there are certain crimes, which it is dangerous to punish by halves. However, he did less than half punish them, for he ordered them all to be set at liberty, on giving security for their good behaviour for the future. He, it is probable, feared, least the slowness of a judicial prosecution against them might delay too long his intended expedition up the river. However, he parted them, by taking along with him the Factor, Peter de Orantez, and the treasurer, Philip Caceres. He then appointed Don Juan de Salazar to command, during his absence, at the Assumption; his lieutenant, it it is probable, being engaged elsewhere; and on the day of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, whose church, consumed in the late conflagration, he had just rebuilt at his own expence, and had even helped to erect as a common workman, he took shipping with two hundred Spaniards, after having recommended, above all things, to Salazar, to have ready, against his return, a brigantine he had ordered to be built, with a view of sending her to Spain, with dispatches to the Emperor.

DON ALVAREZ was followed by twelve hundred of the bravest Guarani warriors in canoes; but his engaging manners seemed to render so much precaution needless. He made such considerable presents to all the Indians, in the towns he passed by, on both sides of the river, that they vowed perpetual friendship to the Spaniards, and religiously kept their promise. He ordered the two revenue officers to travel by land, with two hundred Spaniards more, and an equal number of Indians, and wait for him at Candlemas port; but Caceres, hav-

ing lost his horse the very first day, obtained leave to return home, and send his son in his stead. The 12th, the fleet entered Candlemas port, which, by an observation of the sun, was found to be in the latitude of 22 degrees and 40 minutes.

THE day following, seven Payaguas appeared on the banks of the river, and made signs to express their desire of speaking with the Spaniards. Don Alvarez, upon this, sent ashore to them seven Spaniards, with a Guarani, who, having been a slave among the Payaguas, could speak their language very fluently. The Payaguas asked the Spaniards, if they were the same that so often went up and down the river, and being answered in the affirmative, one of the Payaguas told them he would be glad to speak with their commander. He was, accordingly, conducted to Don Alvarez, who having asked him what he wanted, he answered, that his Cacique would be very glad to enter into an alliance with him ; that he had still by him all the treasure he had carried off from the great captain Ayolas ; and that he was ready to restore it, if the governor would but pardon the treachery he had been guilty of.

DON ALVAREZ having asked him in what the treasure consisted, he answered, in as much gold and silver, in bracelets, crowns, and other ornaments, as sixty six Indians could carry. Upon this, Don Alvarez desired the Indian to assure his Cacique, that he was come into the country, by order of the Emperor, to pacify all the nations that inhabited it ; pardon past offences ; offer his protection to such of the natives, as were willing to declare themselves his vassals, and live upon good terms with his subjects ; and that, if his Cacique was disposed to accept these conditions, he might come to see him in the greatest safety, and should have all the reason in the world to be well pleased with his reception.

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He then gave the messenger some presents for his Cacique, and some for himself, and asked him when he might expect to see him again, and his Cacique. The Payagua answered, the day following; and was then reconducted to the place where he had been taken up.

SOME days, however, having past, without the governor's hearing any thing of either of them; his Guarani interpreter, to whom he expressed his surprise at it, told him, he imagined it would be to no purpose, to wait for them any longer; that there was not a more suspicious or treacherous nation on the face of the earth, than the Payaguas; that all the Cacique aimed at by this message, was to gain time and amuse him; that, in his opinion, he would do well to pursue them; that, as they were heavily loaded, it would be no difficult matter to come up with them; that, to judge by what he knew of the country, they would not halt, till they arrived at a lake well stored with fish, in the centre of a very fine country; and which had been well peopled, before the Payaguas had murdered its inhabitants. Don Alvarez took the Guarani's advice, and caused himself to be put ashore, with great part of his troops, at the mouth of a river, by which the lake empties itself into the Paraguay. Before he could reach this river, he observed a pretty numerous body of Indians, who, his interpreter informed him, were the Payaguas endeavouring to make their escape; but, though he followed, for eight days together, the course of this river, and made the tour of the lake from whence it issues, he could meet with none of them; and, therefore, judging that it would be to no purpose; to proceed further in quest of such a roving, unsettled people, he made the best of his way back to Candlemas port.

HERE Don Alvarez embarked again, leaving behind him Mendoza, with instructions, which probably regarded the Payaguas. The banks of the river in this place are covered with different kinds of fruit trees, particularly the cassia tree. A little higher, it is rendered exceedingly rapid by two rocks, which, projecting from the opposite shores, greatly streighten the channel. The Spaniards caught here great plenty of Goldenies, some weighing fifteen pounds. The flesh of this fish is both very wholesome, and very well tasted. It is even pretended, that the water, in which it has been boiled, is a sovereign remedy against the itch, and the leprosy. Mendoza now rejoined the governor, who, having discovered a great stir among the Indians, alarmed, no doubt, at the sight of so numerous a fleet, ordered him to quiet them. He himself entered into a conference with the *Guaroropos*, and made them promise not to molest such of his people, as he might leave behind; but these barbarians broke their word, which, however, Fernandez pretends his countrymen gave them sufficient provocations not to keep.

IN this latitude, the river overflows to such a degree, when the sun has reached the tropic, that it lays under water more than an hundred leagues of country on both sides; so that, according to the author just now cited, canoes pass freely over the highest trees. These inundations last four months; the waters begin to fall towards the end of March; and leave behind them a prodigious quantity of fish, which, by putrefying, infect the air, and render the country very sickly; but when the waters are quite dried up, the Indians repair, in great numbers, to the river; live upon the fish with which it abounds, and spend their whole time in mirth and diversion.

DON

DON ALVAREZ, who found them there, would not permit any of his people to have any dealings with them, though he received with great kindness several of them who came to wait upon him and even made them some presents. The 25th of October, he arrived at a place, where the river divided, to the left, into three branches, the middlemost resembling a great lake, which, a little higher up, unite again. A little higher up, and on the same side, is another river, formed by a great many streams, which, by their inosculation, compose a labyrinth, out of which the Indians of the country find it no easy matter to extricate themselves. This river they call *Iguatu*, which signifies *good water*. Don Alvarez entered it, after planting crosses to let those who followed him know the rout he had taken. The 8th of November, having ascended and descended all these rivers, he returned to the Paraguay, and found himself opposite several bald and lofty mountains, of a reddish colour, in the form of bells; where he was informed, a kind of white metal was to be found. Between this and King's Port, the river was so low, that his men were obliged to get into the water, and, by force of arms, help the brigantines over some shallows, about a cross-bow-shot in length.

THE governor, on entering the port, found there, before him, a great number of Indians, who impatiently waited his arrival, and received him with the greatest demonstrations of joy. On his side, he treated them with the greatest kindness; and, being informed that they adored idols, a thing that had not as yet been observed, among any of the other nations of this continent, he earnestly exhorted the secular and regular clergy, who accompanied him in this expedition, to omit nothing to open their eyes, and bring them over to the knowledge of the true God. He even spoke to them,

himself, of the weakness of these dumb and blind divinities; and at last prevailed on them, to give up these objects of their worship to the flames; notwithstanding the great apprehensions they at first seemed to be under, lest the devils should punish them severely for it. This done, Don Alvarez caused a cross to be erected, and built a chapel, where mass was sung with great solemnity, to the no small satisfaction of the Indians. After this ceremony, he took possession of the whole country, for the crown of Spain; and, perhaps, there is not any in all this vast province, in which it was more the interest of the Spaniards to make a solid establishment, and which, notwithstanding, they have more neglected, as will appear in the course of this history. Don Alvarez having by this perceived, that the Indians took offence at the Spaniards penetrating into their towns, forbid, it directly, under the severest penalties.

THESE Indians cultivate the earth; grow several kinds of excellent fruit, manioc and maiz, of which last, they make the earth yield them two crops a year. Fishing, fowling, and hunting are another great resource. They likewise breed geese, and cocks and hens, though not entirely for the sake of their flesh; for they make use of the first to rid themselves of grasshoppers, whose chirping, it is probable, they do not like; and the latter, by having them at night, to secure themselves from the attacks of a certain species of large bats, the same, perhaps, we have before mentioned. These bats are a very dangerous creature, as Don Alvarez himself experienced to his cost. One night, as he lay sleeping in his brigantine, with one of his feet uncovered, one of these birds, not only bit the tip of his great toe, but stript the under part of it entirely of the skin, without awakening him; so that, before he awoke, his bed was full of blood.

blood. But it is upon the ears of horses, and the dugs of newly littered sows, which they first suck, and then gnaw to the very roots, that these terrible birds principally fasten. The horses know them, so that, on their getting into a stable, the poor creatures in it, become downright furious. Fernandez, who relates these facts, has forgot to tell us in what manner the cocks and hens free the Indians from these troublesome animals.

NEITHER this author, nor Herrera have taken the trouble to acquaint us exactly with the situation of King's Port; and it is merely by induction, and by following Don Alvarez in the rout he took to enter it, that we may, without apprehending any mistake, place it at the entrance into the lake of the Xarayes, on its western shore, and opposite to the island of the Orejones; and this is the situation already given to it by the famous William de Lille, the only geographer I know, who has mentioned it in his maps; for the Spanish geographers have, all, omitted it. The journals of those, who have since attempted to penetrate from Paraguay into Peru, put the thing out of question. Father del Techo makes the length of the island in this lake, thirty miles; and its greatest breadth, fifteen.

THIS island, it is said, derives its name from that of a Peruvian nation, called *Orejones*, because they bore their ears; many of whom, it is pretended, took refuge here at the conquest of Peru; and it is probable, that the Spaniards under Don Alvarez were the first to give it the name of the *Island of Paradise*. If what all the memoirs I have perused say of it, is true, it is very well intitled to that appellation; for, though situated in the torrid zone, between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees of latitude, it enjoys the most temperate weather all the year round; owing to the winds which blow there constantly every day at regular hours, and a
great

great number of rivulets, with which it is watered. Its fields produce, without culture, the most excellent fruits; and the difference between the seasons being scarce sensible, every month is equally fit to sow or reap in. The dispositions of the inhabitants greatly resemble the air they breathe. They they do not cultivate the vine, but make a very wholesome and agreeable liquor with their honey. Here is, likewise, the greatest plenty of every kind of game, both fish, fowl, and four footed animals. All these advantages, joined to the consideration of its lying but a league from King's Port, engaged the Spaniards to request their governor to form an establishment there.

Nor to speak of the beauty of this place, and the mildness of its climate, there were, one would imagine, many other reasons sufficient to determine Don Alvarez to fortify it and leave a garrison behind him to defend it. It was the best step he could take to establish a correspondence between Paraguay and Peru, which he had so much at heart; and we shall see hereafter, how much the court of Spain has suffered, even in Paraguay, by having neglected so important a post. Don Alvarez had too much sense, not to see, himself, the necessity there was to secure the possession of it; but he had no more men along with him, than what were absolutely necessary to continue the discoveries, with which he had been charged; and he could draw no more from the Assumption. Besides, he could not foresee those events, which afterwards prevented his taking all the steps the service of the Emperor, and the good of his province required. But, be that as it will, the soldiers, the veterans especially, murmured greatly at his preparations to quit these charming places: "To what purpose," they publicly exclaimed, "are we to remain always in savage countries, waste ourselves

elves with fatigue, and be perpetually running from one danger into another, without having any thing we can call our own. What do we look for in deserts, in mountains, and in countries covered with water, where none but Cannibals are to be met with ; and, while we can see nothing but our countrymen daily perishing by sickness and the arrows of barbarians, what can we expect but the same fate ? Let us learn to be wise at their expence ; and, without going further in quest of chimerical treasures, which seem to fly us in proportion as we pursue them, let us seize upon the happiness, with which providence now presents us ; of what service could the gold, with which we are amused, be to us ; what can we hope to purchase with it, better than what we actually possess ?”

A GREAT many others, however, were of opinion, not to renounce the hopes of meeting with mines, or discovering a road to Peru, though they allowed it was proper to make an establishment at King's-Port, to serve as an Entrepot, and facilitate the communication between the two kingdoms. All, therefore, unanimously united to prevail on the governor to consent to this establishment, and the oldest spoke, in the name of the rest. But Don Alvarez, not a little provoked at their earnestness, answered them in the following words. “ Are these men Spaniards,” said he, “ whom I hear speak in this manner ? Have we left Spain, and travelled so far, in search of land, and there to spend our days obscurely in idleness and luxury ? we might have done all this, without leaving our own country. Methinks I see a parcel of children, who, for the sake of a few apples, neglect treasures, whose value they are not acquainted with. The Emperor, our master, has sent us into this new world, to conquer empires
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for him, and secure to him the possession of the riches they contain ; were we to lose our lives, or spend our days in fatigues much greater than those we have already gone through, both duty and honour oblige us to justify the confidence this great prince has reposed in us. I know the extent of your obligations, as well as my own ; I ought to shew you good example ; and you will follow it, if you deserve the name you boast of."

Soon after this, Mendoza arrived with the rest of the fleet, and informed the governor, that the Guaroropos, with whom he flattered himself he had made a lasting alliance, had attacked the brigantine commanded by captain Augustin de Campos ; that five Spaniards had been killed at the first onset ; and Juan de Bolanos drowned, in attempting to make his escape by swimming ; that these traitors had afterwards set out to prevail on the Indians in the neighbourhood of King's Port, to join them against the Christians, who, they affirmed, had neither strength nor courage enough to resist them ; and that there was great reason to dread a general conspiracy of all these nations. Don Alvarez, at the same time, received intelligence by Hector d'Acuna and Anthony Correa, whom he had sent with ten or twelve soldiers, to invite the Xarayes, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him ; that, after traversing some overflown countries, where they suffered a great deal for want of provisions, they at last joined a party of these Indians, whom their Cacique had sent to meet them with refreshments ; that, after traveling a little further, they found upwards of five hundred more, decked out, in their way, with the most beautiful feathers, who were likewise come out to meet them, and conducted them to their town, where their Cacique gave them a very friendly reception, and acquainted them, by the mouth
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of a Guarani interpreter, that he would be very glad to see their general, of whom he had heard a great many fine things ; that, upon this, they assured him, they were come from their general to declare to him, that he was willing to be his friend, and that of all his nation ; that the Cacique replied, that nothing would give him greater pleasure ; that he could not give their general any great information concerning the country he intended to traverse ; but could supply him with an interpreter who had travelled a great deal that way, and might be of considerable service to him.

THESE Xarayes were settled at some distance from the lake of the same name ; but there are others who live constantly on its banks, or greatly frequent them ; they have been always extremely attached to the Spaniards ; are a very good kind of people ; cultivate the earth ; and have grain and cotton in abundance. Don Alvarez received the Cacique's offers very graciously ; and, leaving his brigantines to the care of one hundred Spaniards under John de Romero, set out on his march westwards. After five days march, during which there was no travelling but by cutting a passage through woods and bushes, he reached the banks of a river, whose water was, at the same time, very warm and very transparent.

THUS, Don Alvarez was but little the better for his guide ; for, though several nations sent deputies to wait on him with compliments and provisions ; and he always very generously paid for the latter ; others of them attempted to oppose his passage ; but he soon brought them to reason. He had now travelled a great way, when he was informed by his scouts, that there had just sallied out of a town, at no great distance, five thousand men, very well armed, who seemed disposed to attack him ; and, in fact, he had scarce
time

time to prepare for their reception, when they arrived within sight in order of battle. But, at the martial appearance of Don Alvarez's forces, they immediately dispersed, leaving their town to the discretion of the Spaniards, who immediately entered it, and found it to consist of eight thousand cabins, in the center of which stood a tower terminating in a pyramid, built with large pieces of timber and covered, from top to bottom, with palm tree bark.

THIS was the temple and residence of a monstrous serpent, whom the inhabitants had chosen for their divinity, and fed with human flesh. He was as thick as an ox, and seven and twenty feet long, with a very large head, and very fiery though small eyes. His jaws, when extended, displayed two ranks of crooked fangs. The whole body, except the tail which was smooth, was covered with round scales of a great thickness. The Spaniards, though they could not be persuaded by the Indians that this monster delivered oracles, were exceedingly terrified at the first sight of him; and their terror greatly increased, when, on one of them having fired a blunderbuss at him, he gave a roar like that of a lion, and with a stroke of his tail shook the whole tower. However, they found it no hard matter to make an end of him; and then, as if this exploit, and the taking of a defenceless town, had exhausted all their courage, most of them declared, that they could proceed no further.

DON ALVAREZ, who now thought himself at no great distance from Peru, was pretty much embarrassed what course to take; and, therefore, thought proper to call a council, before he attempted to revive the courage of his soldiers. The council were unanimous for his marching back, and he yielded to their advice so much the more readily,

readily, as the misbehaviour of the revenue officers. contributed as much to discourage the soldiers, as the fatigues of the voyage and the uncertainty of its success. The soldiers had got some plunder in the town they were now in possession of, and these gentlemen levied the fifth of it for the Emperor. They even pretended that all manner of game was subject to the same duty. The governor produced his instructions, in which his Majesty gave up this right; and, as the officers still insisted on it, he told them, that, if they should ever be called to an account for having been too indulgent on the occasion, he would indemnify the royal treasury at his own expence. But he found it impossible to contain them for any time, or some other malecontents, whose numbers were considerably encreased by the exact discipline he made all, without exception, observe; and, therefore, gave orders for an immediate retreat.

At his arrival at King's-port, he heard, that most of the neighbouring Indians, and even the Orejones, had conspired to fall upon the Spaniards and their allies the Guaranis, to whom, it now appeared, they never brought any provisions, but with a view of examining their situation and motions; several had, even openly, declared themselves, especially the Guaroropos, who had invited some other nations to join them in order to extirpate these new comers. Upon this, Don Alvarez sent for the Indian chiefs; put them in mind of the treaty he had concluded with them; asked them if he had not paid for all the provisions they had brought in, and always added some presents to the price of them; adding withal, that, if after all this kind usage they should forget themselves so far as to attempt any thing against him, he was strong enough to make them repent it. This resolute though mild declaration, had so far its effect,

effect, that they all promised whatever he required; after which he dismissed them loaded with presents.

BUT they kept their word very ill; for, in a short time after, there scarcely remained ten or twelve days provisions in the camp. Some Indians, upon this, assured the governor, that, at nine leagues from King's-port, there were some nations, who had provisions in plenty. He, therefore, sent Mendoza escorted by a strong party, to them with orders to tell them, that he had heard a great deal of good of them, and was, therefore, surprized they had not as yet sent deputies to make an alliance with him, and put themselves, after the example of so many other nations, under the Emperor's protection. Mendoza was then to call for some provisions, and offer more than the value for them; and, if, after several summons, they refused to comply, employ force; but yet do it with the greatest moderation and circumspection possible.

IN the mean time, the Orejones, whose friendship Don Alvarez found it no difficult matter to recover, informed him, that, by ascending the *Iguatu*, he should meet with very rich and numerous nations, who would put him in the way of making several important discoveries. Upon this, he dispatched fifty two of his best men under the command of captain Fernandez de Ribera, with orders to take an exact account of all the particulars he might learn; to omit nothing to gain the good will of the inhabitants; and, for that purpose, not to be sparing of presents, with which he abundantly supplied him.

SOME time after the departure of this captain, the governor received a letter from Mendoza, that all the inhabitants of the country, where he had sent him, were enraged against the Spaniards, and firmly resolved not to suffer them in the coun-

try;

try; that he had been attacked by a great number of these barbarians, and must have fallen a victim to their fury with his whole detachment, had he not ordered some blunderbusses to be discharged at them, by which two were killed, and the rest so terrified; that they immediately fled to the mountains; that, after their retreat, he had entered their towns, where he found a great deal of provisions, which he sent them word he was ready to pay as much for, as they themselves thought proper to require; but that, instead of listening to reason, they returned in greater numbers; set fire to their houses, and even sent to invite their neighbours to their assistance. In answer to this letter, Don Alvarez ordered Mendoza to omit nothing to make them listen to reason; and, if he saw no prospect of success, to go somewhere else in quest of provisions. To this, Mendoza replied, that these people were become from day to day more intractable, and that the Guararopos were already come to their assistance.

THE twenty fourth of January, of the 1544. following year, Francis de Ribera arrived at Kings-port with his guide, the six Spaniards, and three out of the eleven Guaranis, the governor had sent along with him. Don Alvarez was overjoyed to see him, as the other eight Guaranis, who had fled back in a panic, to the camp, had given him to understand, that the rest of the party had been all cut to pieces. Ribera reported; that, at first, he marched for the space of twenty days, to the west, by such bad roads, that he sometimes could not make above half a league a day; that he never came short of fowl, hogs, and antas, which the Indians killed with their arrows, and sometimes even with sticks; that he likewise found a great deal of honey in the hollows of trees, and every where plenty of

wild fruits; that, about the twentieth day he arrived on the banks of a river, where he caught some shads of an exquisite taste; that, after crossing this river, he met with an Indian, who wore a chin-piece of silver, and ear-rings of gold; that, having shown the man who came out to meet him, a brass candlestick, and asked him if there was any such metal in his country, he answered, that there was some of the same colour, but much more beautiful, and which, besides, did not stink like his; that having then produced a plate of tin, the Indian told him, that his white metal, likewise, was much finer; that they made of it crowns, bracelets, plates, and pails, and several other utensils; that, this man, taking him by the hand, and making signs to him to follow him, he soon after spied a large house, from whence they were removing a great deal of cotton clothes, and several pieces of furniture, among which he perceived bracelets, hatchets, and several things of that kind, all made of silver; that he was very well received in this house, which proved to be that of his conductor, who ordered his guests to be served with wine made of maiz; that the slaves, who attended them, gave them to understand, that there were other Indians in the neighbourhood, called *Payzunoez*, and among them were some christians, the only name these Indians give the Spaniards; that there appeared, the next moment, some men painted all over, and armed with bows and arrows; that the master of the house took up arms on their arrival; that the Spaniards observing a great deal of bustle among them, concluded their lives to be in danger; that, upon this, he ordered his men to go out; and, on pretence of going to look for more Spaniards, make their retreat the same way they had advanced; that he and his men had scarce left the house, when

when upwards of three hundred Indians appeared with a very threatening air, which determined him to make, with all his men, the best of his way to a mountain in the neighbourhood; that the barbarians pursued them, so that it was with great difficulty they gained the mountain, most of them having been wounded in the retreat; that, the barbarians, however, pursued them no further, for fear, he supposed, of meeting with more Spaniards; that by this means they got time to recover the road by which they had arrived, which the eight Guaranis, who arrived before them, had probably recovered at the first alarm.

It has been since discovered, that these Indians, called by Herrera *Taropeaciez*, were no enemies to the Spaniards; but, on the contrary, a very peaceable people, and very hospitable to all strangers passing through their country, to whom they are very liberal of gold, silver, and provisions; but that the sight of the Guaranis had exasperated them, as these Indians had formerly committed great ravages, and killed a great many persons, in these districts.

In the mean time, almost all the Spaniards, now united at Kings-port, were fallen sick, owing, it was imagined, to the great inundations which rendered the waters very muddy and unwholesome. The Indians, therefore, no longer kept any measures with them; surprized some that had wandered to too great a distance from the camp; and then killed and devoured them. Don Alvarez, who likewise began to be greatly out of order, recalled Mendoza, who informed him, that all his soldiers were ill of the fever, and that he would embark with them, as soon as he could gather provisions enough; a thing he found from day to day more difficult to accomplish. Upon this, the governor exerted himself to send Mendoza &

reinforcement, which at length enabled him to compel the Indians to sell him, at least, provisions enough for his return.

THE thirtieth, Fernandez de Ribera arrived likewise at Kings-port; but finding the governor indisposed, and hearing besides, that he was upon the point of setting out on his return to the Assumption, he thought he had better wait till their arrival there, to give him an account of his discoveries. Don Alvarez, however, had not as yet renounced all thoughts of pursuing those he had begun himself; but, besides the sickness, which daily encreased, the Paraguay and other rivers in the neighbourhood had overflowed to such a degree, that the whole country looked like one great sea, the low lands being covered with water to the depth of five fathoms. The Indians informed him, that these inundations generally last four months, and are commonly followed by an infection in the air, occasioned by the great quantity of fish the waters leave behind them, to putrefy by the great heat of the sun. They added, that those who did not take care to lay in a sufficient stock of provisions against this season, were often reduced to so great a degree of want, that the strongest killed the weakest to support nature by feeding on their carcases.

THE governor was very far from being in a condition to wait for the fall of the waters; and, besides, considered, that, did he defer ever so short a time returning to the Assumption, sickness would infallibly carry off all the soldiers he had still left; he was even so bad himself, that his life was thought to be in no small danger. He, therefore, assembled his council, to deliberate with them upon the course properest to be taken in these conjunctures; and all agreed to embark without any further delay. Upon this, he immediately sent notice to all the
Indians,

Indians, who had given hostages to him as a security for their fidelity, to come and withdraw them; and, to hinder the Spaniards from murmuring at this step, he produced an order from the Emperor, not to carry off himself, or permit others to carry off the Indians by force out of their country.

THESE orders gave such offence to the Spaniards, that the governor's firmness in causing them to be directly obeyed, contributed not a little to increase the number of his enemies, which were already but too numerous. The revenue officers had, for a long time past, conspired his destruction, and taken the surest measure to secure success to their wicked designs. The discontent among the troops, who had followed him in his last voyage, and with which they flattered themselves they should soon see the rest infected, appeared to them a lucky incident to remove one of the greatest obstacles they had to surmount. Be that as it will, Don Alvarez embarked very much out of order, having scarce a single man left, capable of working his vessels, and much less of defending them, if warmly attacked. The Indians, who were no strangers to his weakness, pursued him for some days; but being fired upon, when they drew too near, they let him reach the Assumption, where he arrived the 8th of April, 1544, without losing, in so long a voyage, but a single Spaniard, called Miranda, who, being on a kind of raft, was wounded with an arrow by the Guararopos, and killed on the spot.

On his arrival, he found Salazar, who commanded during his absence, very busy in making preparations to extirpate the Agazes, who had done nothing since his departure but plunder the country seats of the Spaniards, and the towns of the Guaranis; and butcher all those that were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. But, as

the caraval was ready, which the governor had ordered to be built at his setting out, and he was resolved to go on board it the moment his health would permit him; and, besides, the disposition, in which he must know several persons were in regard to him, made him every moment apprehend a domestic war; he thought it would be imprudent to embark during a foreign one; and, therefore, deferred the chastisement of the Agazes to another opportunity.

DON ALVAREZ, after all, did not as yet comprehend the greatness of the danger, with which he was threatened; perhaps he relied so much on his own innocence and virtue, for protection against the wicked designs of his enemies, that he took no care to check their fury, and stop its progress; or knew too little of the motives of their inveteracy against him. It was well known, that he still intended to re-establish Buenos Ayres; and those, who had seized upon all authority during his absence, so as to leave nothing but the shadow of it to his delegate, were resolved to do all that lay in their power, to render abortive any measures he might take for that purpose. It is, in a manner, certain, that they had resolved to render themselves independent of the court; and, to accomplish their designs, it was absolutely necessary, they should first rid themselves of the only man, who could successfully oppose them. Be that as it will, there is not, perhaps, a more signal proof of the special protection of heaven on the virtuous Don Alvarez, than his enemies not having taken the shortest and surest method to put him out of the way. This would have cost them but a single crime, whereas the method they pursued, was no better than a tissue of fraud and villainy, of which they could not expect to avoid the punishment, but by an open rebellion, the success of which must be very uncertain.

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As they could not but know, that the bulk of the inhabitants, and the foundest part of the army were extremely attached to him, they began by spreading a report, that he had formed a design of enriching all those who had followed him to the Indies, at the expence of the private persons in best circumstances, whom he had found there; and gave notice, under hand, to all such persons, that they were firmly resolved to oppose, effectually, so unjust a proceeding; to prevent which it was absolutely necessary to put the governor under an arrest. The answer to this proposal was, that before taking such a step, it would be proper to represent to him the injustice and bad policy of what he intended, as there was all the reason in the world to hope, he would pay due regard to such representations. The force of this argument, the officers of the revenue craftily eluded, by saying, that knew they him too well to think so; that it would be highly improper to let him know that this project had taken wind; and that there was no other way left, to avoid the evils with which they were threatened, but to seize on his person, as he would be the readier to listen to their complaints, and redress their grievances; that they would, therefore, do well to hold themselves in constant readiness, till they received notice what to do; and that the preservation of the country, to the Emperor, depended on their good behaviour. The revenue officers then assigned the other malcontents two places, where they were to repair, privately armed, at the first notice of the bell for repeating the angelical salutation.

THIS plan was executed without the least bustle in the city; and, at the hour appointed, 'Cacerez Cabreraz and Garcias Venegas entered the house of the governor, then confined to his bed by a fever; and, crying out, "liberty, liberty, long live the Emperor," which was the signal agreed upon,

they proceeded to his apartment, where they were immediately admitted by one of his servants, called Pedro de Onaté, whom they had gained over. They then introduced Francisco de Mendoza, James Resquin Solarzano, and the Portuguese Interpreter, called Diego de Acosta. Resquin immediately made up to the sick man's bed, and applied to his breast a bent cross-bow, charged with a poisonous instrument of destruction, in form of a harpoon. Two other ruffians drew him out of bed, with nothing but his shirt on, crying out, "liberty ;" calling him tyrant ; and telling him they would make him pay severely for all the mischief he had done, and intended to do. In this manner they hurried him out of his house, Resquin still holding the bent cross bow to his breast, to hinder him from speaking.

At the sight of so much insolence and cruelty, even those, whom the principal malcontents had engaged to take up arms, began to exclaim against their behaviour, and only raised their voices the higher, on the others endeavouring to silence them ; till, at last, others joining in their resentment of the indecent manner in which the governor was treated, they, from words, proceeded to blows, which terminated in bloodshed. The Alguazil, Don Francis de Peralba, and the Alcalde Major, Don John Pavon, attempted to discharge their duty on the occasion ; but they were immediately stript of their charges. During the tumult, Don Alvarez had been removed to the house of Venegas ; and, the other revenue officers having dispersed the multitude, who were crying out, with all their might, to have their governor restored to them, entered the room where he was laid down, and put irons on his legs. They then repaired to the house of Peter Fernandez, who was both notary to the king, and secretary to Don Alvarez, and was likewise greatly indisposed ; carried off all the papers
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they found in his possession; and conducted him prisoner, along with Barthelmi Gonzalez, to the house of the King's lieutenant. A proclamation was then published in the name of the revenue officers, forbidding all persons, already in their houses, to appear abroad, on pain of death; at the same time, that their satellites took care to clear the streets of all those they found in them, forcing some home, and others, who had most openly taken the governor's part, into the publick prisons, out of which all the criminals were removed, to make room for them. This done, the officers of the revenue repaired to the governor's house; seized upon all his papers, his commissions, the writings belonging to the proceedings that had been heretofore set on foot against themselves; in a word, all his effects, which they deposited with persons on whom they imagined they could depend. They then crowned their work by seizing on all the brigantines, and the caravel Don Alvarez had caused to be built at his own expence.

THE day following, they published, by beat of drum, an order for the inhabitants to meet the next day, before the house of the King's lieutenant, Don Domingo Martinez de Irala; and, when the inhabitants were all assembled, made their appearance themselves, with a multitude of armed men; and caused the publick crier to read, with a loud voice, a paper importing, that they had caused Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeca de Vaca to be put under arrest, in consequence of their having received certain intelligence, that he had formed a design of stripping the richest inhabitants of their effects, in order to provide for his creatures, and of establishing an arbitrary and tyrannical government upon the ruins of lawful authority. Nothing can be more inconstant, and easy to seduce, than the multitude; and, accordingly, the publication of this piece was followed by an almost general applause. The officers of
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the revenue, who, at first, had been considered as rebels, were now acknowledged in quality of restorers of the publick liberty; and took advantage of the good humour of the people, to acquaint them, that the King's lieutenant was to command in the city, with the same authority the governor had done, till his majesty's further intentions should be known. This step confirmed many persons in their opinion, that Irala had been, under hand, the soul of all this intrigue; especially as one in his place should have opposed such disorders; or, at least, refused from the hands of rebels, an authority they had no right to dispose of. His friend, Pedro Diaz del Valle, was at the same time declared Alcalde major.

THE chiefs of the rebellion then published, that they would immediately continue the discoveries, which Don Alvarez had but just begun. In this they had two views; the first was to send out of the way all those, especially of the military, from whom they had any thing to apprehend in favour of their prisoner; the second, to amass a great deal of gold and silver, of which the late expedition of Don Alvarez had afforded them the prospect, in hopes the sight of it might induce the Emperor to approve their proceedings. But they soon found, that, though it may be an easy matter to impose, for some time, on the multitude, it is, on account of their inconstancy, equally difficult to interest them so far in the pursuit of any unjust measures, as to make them stifle that natural sense of equity, so remarkable in them; and which always affords so good an opportunity of bringing them back to their duty. Those of the Assumption had even already begun to perceive their mistake; and were most of them seized with such a panic, at the thoughts of this new voyage, that nothing was to be heard, but the confused buzz of people crying out for their lawful governor.

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To prevent the consequences of the people coming to themselves again, the conspirators sent some of Don Alvarez's most zealous advocates to prison; and placed guards at the gates of the churches, to hinder the rest, who had taken refuge there, from making their escape. They, likewise, placed guards at all the avenues to Venegas's house, where the governor was confined; and doubled his other guards. But this severity served only to exasperate the soldiery, and the populace; for which reason, the conspirators published, that the first commotion in his favour should cost him his life. They would even have obliged him, with a naked poignard to his breast, to sign an order to the army not to stir in his favour, if they had any regard left for him; but he had already taken this precaution. All these steps, however, were insufficient to quiet his enemies, who from time to time threatened to murder him, and throw his head out to the multitude, in case any one undertook to rescue him out of their hands. Nay, they pitched upon four men, whom they swore, in the Emperor's name, to dispatch Don Alvarez, at the first order.

DON ALVAREZ, all this time, was confined, though too sick to get out of bed, in a room so very damp, that the grass grew under his bed; and so very dark, that it was found necessary to keep a lamp continually burning over his bolster. One Bernard de Sofa, an infamous wretch, whom Don Alvarez had slightly punished for some crime that deserved death, and who, instead of gratitude for the favour shewn him, retained nothing but resentment for the chastisement he had suffered, never quitted this chamber. This room had two doors, which were kept constantly shut; and the guard about the house, consisted of one hundred and fifty men. The prisoner, notwithstanding all these precautions, had the good fortune of
being

being well informed of every thing it was proper he should know, by means of notes brought him by an Indian woman, whose business it was to provide him with victuals, though they took care to shave her head, and not suffer her to wear any thing to supply the place of her hair; and even always examined her, before she entered the house, with the most scrupulous and indecent attention, so far as to look into her mouth and ears. But they never thought of examining her toes; so that, though barefooted, she found means to conceal between them a note, and some blank paper in several folds, with so much dexterity, that they never took the least notice of them. As soon as she was seated at the bed's-head, she pulled out both one and the other, while she appeared to be only scratching her feet; then, watching the moment that Sofa happened to turn his back, clapped them into the hands of the governor, who, having read the note with the same precaution, answered it by means of a powder, made of a kind of earth found in the country, which, diluted with spittle, assumes a black colour.

THE officers of the revenue soon perceived the effects of this contrivance; and, not knowing to whom to attribute them, suborned some young fellows to debauch Don Alvarez's provedore. But, though she easily gave up her chastity, she scrupulously preserved her integrity. On these occasions, women are more discreet than men. In the mean time, the commandant and the revenue officers omitted nothing, to make, every one for himself, as many creatures as possible, and met with great success; as, whoever took part with them, might, without fear of punishment, go into the Indian towns; carry off both wives and daughters; take by force, and without payment, every thing they found there to their liking; and oblige

oblige the men to work for them without any consideration. The Indians complained of these outrages ; but their complaints were not listened to ; which determined several of them, to take refuge in the mountains, along with their families ; and the pious Don Alvarez, who received notice of their flight, forgot the injuries done himself, to think only on the misery the poor fugitives were exposed to ; particularly the danger of losing the religion, they had so lately embraced.

His enemies, who apprehended other consequences from this desertion of the Indians, were not ashamed, in order to put a stop to it, to permit such, as had not as yet embraced christianity, to feed upon human flesh ; and, tell them, that it was through mere perverseness, Don Alvarez had forbid them the use of it. The Spaniards, who still dared to express any regard for him, fared no better than the Indians ; so that many of them, likewise, thought proper to remove. But they were immediately pursued, and all those, that were overtaken, put into irons. Some of the clergy, who spoke of these transactions in such a manner, as to let their hearers understand what they thought of them, were treated with equal severity. In fine, several private persons were, for the same pretended fault, whipped by the hands of the common hangman, and some of them condemned to the gallows. In other respects, all were left at liberty, to say and do what they pleased, whilst the authors of all these disorders had the impudence to boast their zeal for the good of the publick, and the Emperor's service.

In fine, no less than fifty Spaniards made the best of their way into Brazil, in order to sail from thence to Spain, and inform the Emperor's council of the deplorable condition of the province. But what surpris'd people most, was, that the two friars, who,

as we have before related, had formerly taken the same road, in order to complain of Don Alvarez to the Emperor, now set out again, by the same way, and on the same errand, with the consent, or perhaps at the request, of the officers of the revenue. These ruffians, however, began at last to consider, that, as long as Don Alvarez remained at the Assumption, their power would be very precarious. They had shewn themselves capable of the blackest crimes; and many persons began to suspect, that they had compleated the measure of their iniquities by a parricide. But he, who has set bounds to the sea, which in its greatest fury it can never transgress, arrests, when he pleases, the hands of those, who scruple not to commit the greatest crimes, when necessary to gratify their unruly passions. The inhabitants now learned, when they least thought of it, that orders had been given to equip one of Don Alvarez's brigantines to carry him to Spain; and that his enemies had imposed upon themselves to such a degree, as to think they had formed a process against him, which the Emperor and his council could not but approve. They likewise distributed to different persons, the forms of letters, which they were to write to their friends in Spain, to represent the Governor as the most profligate and abandoned wretch on the face of the earth.

ON the other hand, his zealous servants did not forget him. They caused judicial informations to be taken of every thing that had happened; and, along with several authentic pieces, which Don Alvarez had put into their hands before his confinement, enclosed them in a beam, hollowed for that purpose, which they found means to have nailed to the stem of the brigantine; the carpenters, whom they gained over, alledging that this precaution was necessary to strengthen the vessel

vessel sufficiently for so long a voyage. In the mean time, the populace, who knew nothing of all these measures, were still under the greatest uneasiness about the fate of their governor, whom several imagined his enemies would never have assurance enough to send to Spain. It was even universally whispered, that it was merely to hide his death, they gave out he was returning to Spain. Upon this, therefore, they brought into his room two ecclesiasticks, and two gentlemen, whom the inhabitants had no reason to suspect; and who dissipated their apprehensions by assuring them, that they had seen the governor full of life. The conspirators then declared, that, if the Emperor thought proper to send Don Alvarez back to Paraguay, and re-establish him in his employments, they would receive him with all the submission due to his Majesty's orders; and even added, that the two revenue officers, who were to embark on board the same ship with him, would, on their arrival in Spain, surrender themselves prisoners, till their proceedings were examined and approved of.

THE Brigantine being ready to put to sea, 1545 Cabrera and d'Orantez repaired by night to Don Alvarez's room, who was now very ill; and taking him up in their arms carried him to the street door. The sick man looking up to heaven, at this time very bright, and which he had not seen since the day he was put under arrest, begged they would permit him to thank God for having once more granted him that satisfaction, and threw himself on his knees. Two soldiers then took him up to carry him a ship board; when finding himself surrounded with a crowd of people drawn together by the report of his departure, he raised his voice and cried out, "gentlemen, I take you to witness, that I appoint Don Juan de Salazar de Espinosa to command in this province, till his Majesty has sent you
another

another governor." He could say no more, as Vanegas, clapping a poignard to his breast, threatened to bury it in his heart, if he spoke another word; and even went so far as to give him a slight wound. The ruffians then commanded the men, who carried Don Alvarez, to press forward as fast as they could; and, when they had him safe on board, ordered him to be put down on the stern; between two planks, laid so close together, that he could not turn himself. Cabrera and Vanegas embarked on board the same ship; and Irala sent with them a person called Lope de Ugarte, to have an eye to his interests at court. This man was one of those, who had the greatest hand in all the excesses committed against the governor, but like his master, had not declared himself publicly; for which reason, Cabrera and Vanegas flattered themselves, that in Spain, no one would form any suspicions to their prejudice.

As soon as all were embarked, the two revenue officers, who remained behind at the Assumption, imprisoned Don Juan de Salazar and Estopinián Cabeca de Vaca, nephew to Don Alvarez, and two days after sent them on board a second brigantine, which soon overtook the first. The conspirators must have had very strong reasons to send these two officers to Spain, as they were men of great birth and merit. But, besides their being greatly esteemed by the garrison, which, therefore, might range itself under their orders, they were, perhaps, put on ship board, merely to be treated in the same manner with the governor, whom, it appears, his enemies had resolved to put out of the way. It is, at least, certain, that Don Alvarez, having requested, that two of his servants, who had followed him a ship board, might be permitted to dress his victuals for him, and serve them up to him, was denied this small favour, and a Biscayen, called Mechin, had orders

orders to perform the first part of this office; and then deliver what he had prepared into the hands of Ugarte, who was to perform the second. But Don Alvarez immediately perceived, that his victuals were seasoned with arsenic, against which he had no other way of securing himself, but by vomiting himself violently with a little oil, of which he had taken on board a small quantity. After having gone on in this manner for three days successively, he declared he would no longer take any thing but from the hands of his own servants; upon which the revenue officers told him very coolly, that he might starve himself, if he pleased; for that no one should hinder him. Accordingly they suffered him to go without any support for several days, till, finding himself very far gone, and that his enemies wished only for his death, he took every thing they gave him; continuing to have recourse to his oil, as often as he found any occasion for it.

BESIDES Salazar and Cabeza de Vaca, the conspirators had embarked, as prisoners, on board the second ship, Pedro Fernandez and Ruiz Miranda. Several other persons obtained leave to return to Spain by the same opportunity, and, among the rest, father Juan de Salazar, a religious of la Merci; but, first, they made him promise, not to interpose in favour of Don Alvarez. Cabrera and Vanegas, however, thought this was running too great a risk, and sent them back to the Assumption on board the same ship, that had brought them out; and, along with them, the two servants of Don Alvarez, to the great grief of their master.

THE other brigantine, with Don Alvarez on board, had scarce lost sight of land, when there arose so furious a storm, that the most experienced mariners gave themselves up for lost. Upon this, the two revenue officers, who thought themselves at the point of being arraigned at that great tribunal from

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whence there is no appeal, and where truth can neither be stifled nor disguised, felt all the weight of their crimes. Nay the pangs of their conscience, extorted from them a public confession of all their iniquities, and forced them to declare, that they now plainly saw, that the arm, which revenges oppressed innocence, had stirred up the elements against them. Cabrera took off the governor's irons with his own hands; and, along with Vanegas, kissed his feet. They then, with a loud voice, asked his pardon for all the injuries they had done him, and authentically recanted all the false reports they had spread to the prejudice of his honour; adding that they had taken a thousand false oaths to destroy him. Lastly, they conjured him, in the name of God, to forgive them all these enormities; and not ruin them, in case they escaped, in the eyes of his imperial Majesty.

DON ALVAREZ promised them every thing they asked, and assured them, that he forgot all that was past. In the mean time, the storm, after raging four days without intermission, had entirely subsided, and the whole ship's company looked upon themselves as indebted to the virtue and merits of so holy a man, for their unexpected deliverance. The brigantine, after this, sailed two thousand five hundred leagues without making land; so that the people on board soon saw themselves reduced to a little meal, which they made into cakes with hog's lard; for the revenue officers scarce saw themselves out of danger of perishing by shipwreck, than the fear of God's judgments made way in their wicked hearts for that of their sovereign's anger, against which Don Alvarez's promises they imagined would be but a slender security, after the publick confession they had made. They, therefore, chose to keep to sea, though in danger of perishing by hunger, rather than by touching at the Brazils, or Hispaniola,

Hispaniola, expose themselves to the danger of being arrested there. At length, after a three months dreadful navigation, the immediate prospect of famine obliged them to put into the Azores, where, immediately on landing, they waited on the commander of the fort to acquaint him, that they had on board a man, who, in his passage by the Cape de verd islands, had plundered that of Santiago ; and that he might do whatever he pleased with him.

THE commander, surprised at such an accusation, began to suspect the truth of it. " What you tell me, (said he,) cannot be true. Is there a private man living bold enough to affront my master, who, besides, does not leave his ports defenceless enough to be so easily insulted ?" Confounded with this answer, the meaning of which they thoroughly comprehended, they immediately retired without making any reply ; and, leaving their prisoner on board the brigantine, went on board another ship just setting sail for Spain, where they arrived twelve days before him, and gave out that he was gone to Portugal to communicate his discoveries to the court of Lisbon. They then repaired to Valladolid, where the court then happened to be, and laid before the council all their memorials, with all the papers they had prepared in support of them.

UNHAPPILY for them, the Royal Council of the Indies had at this time for president, Don Sebastian Ramirez Fuenscal, bishop of Cuenca, who to the greatest knowledge of American affairs joined the greatest integrity and circumspection. He had been before president of the Royal Audience of San-Domingo, and of that of New Spain ; and his great experience made him immediately suspect, and soon discover the wicked designs of these miscreants, who strove artfully to conceal their machinations under the specious pretext of an unlimited zeal for the good of the public. He was even preparing to

make a public example of them, when death interposed to the great regret of all the kingdom. Don Alvarez, in the mean time, arrived at Valladolid; and, the very night of his arrival, his two accusers set out for Madrid, where the court was about to remove a few days after. Garcias Vanegas died suddenly, without having time to utter a single word, and his eyes starting out of their sockets; and, pretty much about the same time, Cabrera expired, after killing his wife, in a fit of madness. We are also told, that the two Friars, who went from the Assumption to Brazil, in order to pass from thence into Spain with memorials against Don Alvarez, died suddenly, and in a very deplorable manner.

But, though DON ALVAREZ had now no longer any enemies in Spain, and the justice of God, so signally displayed against his accusers, seemed more than sufficient to prove his innocence, he was not fully acquitted of every thing laid to his charge in less than eight years; nor did the council think proper to send him back to Paraguay, lest his presence there should occasion fresh disturbances. Nay he did not, all this time, receive any reward for his services, nor any indemnification for the losses he had incurred, and the disbursements he had made, in the emperor's service. This delay is attributed to his Majesty's long absence from his Spanish territories. At last, the Emperor granted him a pension of two thousand gold crowns, and gave him a place in the Royal Audience of Seville, where he died in a very advanced age. I have, indeed, seen a memorial, in which it is said, that he was immediately gratified with a seat in the Royal Council of the Indies. But, though his sovereign might have amply rewarded him for all his services, he never indemnified him for all his sufferings, nor properly acknowledged the heroic manner, in which he bore the many indignities that had been offered him

him. At this, however, we are not to be surprised. There are virtues which no earthly monarch can do justice to. Those, who think and act up to the great principles of christianity, know that God alone can be their reward.

THE slowness of these proceedings may, indeed in some measure be accounted for, by the distance of Paraguay, from whence it was requisite to have judicial informations; as well as by the long absence of the Emperor from his hereditary dominions. Besides, this great and good man, might, agreeable to his known disposition, put up with the testimony of his conscience; and, therefore, give himself very little trouble to solicit his judges, and engage them to terminate the prosecution against him, though he knew it must end greatly to his advantage. But what did him most honour, was, that he never let fall a single word to the prejudice of his enemies, or that could bear hard upon Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, even after he had learned how unworthily this officer had acted in regard to him, after his departure from the Assumption, as we shall presently relate. However, the agent, whom Irala sent over to take care of his interests at court, could never obtain leave to return to Paraguay. All that now remains to complete the history of Don Alvarez is, to give some account of the voyage undertaken, by his orders, by captain Fernandez de Ribera, and of which Don Alvarez himself heard nothing till his arrival in Spain.

RIBERA, as has been already said, set out from King's Port, the 20th of December, 1543, with two fifty men, and entered the Iguata, which, in six days, he found to be formed westward of the Paraguay and King's Port, by the junction of two others called *Tacareati* and *Yayva*. Here he left his brigantine, with twelve men to take care of her,

and set out with the other forty, and a guide given him by the Xarayes, who understood the language current in a great part of the country he was to traverse, and a royal notary, called John Valderas, sent with him by Don Alvarez to keep an exact account of every thing they could discover. But Ribera thought it best not to impart any thing of what he learned by means of his interpreter, in his private conversations with the Indians, to any one but Don Alvarez, who, he knew, was determined to examine every thing by himself. But Don Alvarez being too much indisposed, at Ribera's return to King's Port, to receive a full account of every thing he learned, he followed him to the Assumption; where we have seen it was impossible to speak to him at any rate. Upon this, Ribera thought it his duty to draw up a relation, in form, of all his discoveries; and, as soon as it was ready, he assembled, in the church of the fathers for the redemption of captives, some persons, upon whose discretion he could depend; then, in presence of the superior of the convent, and the royal notary Pedro Fernandez, he read to them his relation, and swore to the truth of it upon the holy evangelists. The substance of it I shall now give the reader.

RIBERA, on his arrival at the confluence of the two rivers forming the Iguata, was informed by the Xarayes he met there, that the Yayoa issues from the mountains of Santa Martha; and the Yacareati, from those of Peru, whence it falls precipitately into a very low country; that they, first, mix together in the country of the *Perobacaez*, and then separate and form a very great island well inhabited by different nations. After taking leave of the Xarayes, whose Cacique, called *Camire*, had received him with extraordinary marks of kindness and respect, he continued his march for three days, when he arrived
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among another nation of Indians, called *Urtuezez*, who, like the *Xarayes*; till the ground, and feed several kinds of poultry. He then pushed on, through a very populous country, till he arrived in fourteen degrees and fifty three minutes of South latitude.

DURING his stay among the *Urtuezez*, who had for neighbours the *Aburtinez*, a great many Indians of the neighbourhood came to wait upon him, and presented him feathers like those found in Peru, and plates of a metal they called *Chafalonía*. He examined them separately, concerning the country that lay beyond them; and they all unanimously told him, that, at ten days march to the North-west, there were large towns inhabited by women, who had great quantities of white and yellow metal, and were governed by a woman, whom the nations in her neighbourhood greatly feared and respected; that these women made use of nothing but what was made of white metal; and that, on the road to them; there was a nation of very little men, unable to make head against the women who often invaded their country; but that, however, at a certain season of the year, they sent for some of these little men, to have children by them; that they kept the girls to themselves, but sent the boys, when weaned, back to their fathers; that, by what he could gather from these Indians, these women inhabit a tract of land, North-north-west of the mountains of Santa Martha, and a great lake, which the natives call *the house of the sun*, because this luminary appears to them to set in it; that, beyond the country of these women, there are several numerous nations of black men, with beards terminating in a point. The Indians, who gave this account, added, that they had heard those particulars from their fathers, but had not themselves had an opportunity of being eye-witnesses to them;

that their neighbours had given them the same account, adding, withal, that all those black men were very well dressed, had large houses built with earth and stones, and white and yellow metal in such plenty, that all their vessels, their kettles, and in general, all their utensils were made of one or the other.

RIBERA asked them, which way these black men lived, and they answered, that, after fifteen days march, North-west, he might expect to be very near their country; from whence he concluded, that they must be situated about the twelfth degree of South latitude, between the mountains of Santa Martha and those of the Marañon. He was likewise informed, that these black men were a very warlike nation, but had no other arms but bows and arrows. The same Indians gave him, likewise, to understand by signs, that, between the West-north-west and the North-west one quarter North, there were a great many well inhabited tracts of land, and some towns of such a length, that a man could not, in one day, walk from one end of them to the other; that all these Indians had a great deal of yellow and white metal, and that the road to them was not very long, and lay, besides, through a populous country; that there was a lake to the West, of such extent, that there was no seeing across it; that all the Indians living in the neighbourhood of this lake had a great deal of metal and little stones, that cast a great lustre, and with which they adorned the borders of their cloaths, and their furniture; that their towns were very large; that they tilled their ground, and bred great quantities of poultry; and that from the place where he now was, he might arrive at the lake in fifteen days; that the roads to it were very good, when the waters did not happen to be out, and lay through a populous country; that, at present, the rivers in the way had

had overflown their banks ; and that, besides, Ribera had too few men to attempt travelling through so well inhabited a country.

THEY then told him, that, West one quarter South West, there were other great towns, whose houses were built with earth, and whose inhabitants were very courteous and rich, having metals in abundance, and feeding great flocks of very large sheep, which they made use of to plough and harrow their ground, and carry burdens ; that he could get to them in a few days ; and that the road lay through an inhabited country, where there were christians all, and some sandy desarts, where no water was to be found. Ribera having asked them, how they came to know they were christians at that side of the country, they answered, that, formerly, some Indians, who lived at no great distance from these towns, had heard the people of the country say, that, in crossing these desarts, they had seen white men, with beards, dressed like himself, and riding upon animals, which, according to the description they gave of them, must be horses ; but, that not finding any water in these desarts, they were obliged to make the best of their way back ; after many of them had perished with hunger and thirst.

RIBERA, having then asked them, how they came to know all these particulars, they answered, that there was a great communication between all these nations ; and that it was certain, christians had been seen, with their horses, coming from towards the desert ; that they likewise knew, by hear-say, that, on the declivity of the mountains to the South-West, there were large towns, whose inhabitants were very rich in metals ; and that, at the other side of the mountains, the water was salt, and very great buildings had been seen moving on this water. In fine, having asked them, if all the nations they had mentioned had chiefs, who had
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an authority over the rest of the nation, they answered, that every nation had its own chief, who was always the bravest men in it, and that all the rest punctually obeyed him. Ribera concluded, upon oath, that, not satisfied with what the Indians told him, when he spoke to them in general and all together, he had examined them separately when they all answered uniformly, and without the least alteration.

To return to Irala, he behaved as if he flattered himself, that Don Alvarez would never return to Paraguay, but would perish on his passage to Spain; or, if he did not fall under the weight of the heavy charges brought against him, lose all his credit in consequence of them. He entered upon the exercise of the post, which the enemies of the governor had conferred upon him, by distributing his spoils among those, whom it most imported him to make his friends. But, though Don Alvarez could not be long ignorant of so strange a proceeding; he, notwithstanding, continued to observe the strictest silence in regard to him; even when he might have ruined him with a single word.

He soon found means to interest in his success all those, from whom he had any thing to fear, or whose assistance he might stand in need of, to continue in the enjoyment of his ill got power, by authorizing their injustice, or shutting his eyes on their manner of treating the Indians. But, as he soon understood, that such measures, alone, are insufficient to secure the possession of an authority, which, when not ratified by the sovereign, is generally shared by those who conferred it, he thought it his business to give work, abroad, to all those, from whom he might expect any contradiction at home. It was partly for this reason, but still more, to make himself necessary, by entering into the views of the Emperor, that he resolved to continue his discoveries.

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He little expected the revenue officers would oppose him in this design. On the first mention of it, however, these gentlemen told him, that it was not proper he should leave the Assumption, till his majesty had confirmed him in the government of this province. If the misunderstanding between him and these officers did not break out before this declaration, at least it soon followed; and then the confusion became general. The Indians, who soon discovered the critical situation of the Spaniards, resolved to take advantage of it. By way of making reprisals for the cruelty, with which the Spaniards did not cease to treat them, they plundered all their country settlements. Irala, however, was a gainer on the occasion, on account of the necessity the Spaniards had of him to repress these insults. He no sooner took the field, than the Indians disappeared; and they never ventured to shew their faces again.

5146. HAVING so firmly established his authority by this success, that no one, henceforward, dared to contradict him, he resolved to proceed on his first design. He had attached to his interest a gentleman born at Truxillo, in Estramadura, called Naslo de Chaves, a man of great resolution, and who wished for nothing more than an opportunity of signalizing himself. This gentleman, he ordered to go and wait for him with the director of provisions, Lescano and forty Spaniards, among the *Mayas* or *Yayas*, who live to the West of the Paraguay, and about one hundred leagues north of the Assumption, almost under the tropic; and, after overcoming some unforeseen obstacles, which delayed him a little, followed him in person, after gaining the soldiers, by permitting them to live at discretion in all the places they should pass through; and naming Don Francisco de Mendoza, his lieutenant general, during his

his absence. He took along with him three hundred Spaniards, upon four brigantines ; and was followed by three thousand five hundred Indians, part in pirogues, and the rest by land, to the river of the Itatines, where they at last, embarked. Here Chavez joined the general with provisions ; and the army remounted the Paraguay to King's Port.

FROM King's Port they continued their march till they met the Xarayes, who are said to be the most politick and civilized nation of all this continent. At least, they received Irala very well ; supplied him with provisions in abundance ; gave him some men by way of reinforcement, and to serve him as guides. This behaviour of theirs engaged him to leave in their care his vessels, which he had now no longer any occasion for ; and then he set out North-Westwards. The first Indians he met with informed him of many things concerning all the country, reaching as far as the river of Amazons, and told him, among other things, that, on the banks of the lake *Del Dorado*, there were several nations, who had gold and silver in great plenty ; that the *Sembicosis* in particular, who lived to the West, had very rich mines. He, upon this, thought proper to direct his course that way ; and, after many days march, arrived on the banks of the *Guapay*, which falls into the *Mamore*, a great river, that discharges itself under the name of *Rio de la Madera* into the Maranon. From hence he travelled till he reached the *Sembicosis*, who live at the foot of the Peruvian mountains, and presented him with many samples of gold and silver. He, likewise met, with some Indians there, who informed him, that there then reigned great divisions among the Spaniards of Peru ; and, as he thought this a favourable opportunity to pay his court to the Emperor, he sent Chaves to the president

sident de la Gasca, who commanded in that kingdom for his majesty, to offer himself, and all the troops he had along with him. The president accepted his offers, and named Don Diego de Centeno, to govern Paraguay during his absence. It even appears, that he intended this officer should continue there.

BUT, as Irala's messengers made a very long stay, because they were obliged to go to Lima, where the president then was, his troops pressed him greatly to enter Peru; and, on being told, that he could not do so, without leave from the person who commanded there, they replied, that, if that was the case, they must return to Paraguay. Upon this, he represented to them, that he had given his word to Chaves to wait for him, and that, in honour and justice, he could not go from it. But, the only effect these representations had on the soldiers, was to make them mutiny, so that he found himself under an absolute necessity of yielding to their entreaties. At his arrival among the Xarayes, finding his vessels in good order, he took shipping to return to the Assumption, where he did not arrive till the third year after he had left it.

IN this interval, great changes had 1547-49. happened at the Assumption. In about twelve months after his setting out, Don Francisco de Mendoza, whom Irala had left to command there during his absence; and, indeed many others, began to think, that Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, from whom, all this time, there arrived no news, had met with the same fate with Don Juan de Ayolas. His friends, therefore, advised him to propose the election of a new governor, as he could make no doubt, they said, of all the votes being for him; and of his afterwards obtaining, by the interest of his illustrious family, a commission in form from the Emperor.

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He followed their advice ; spoke to all the electors ; and flattered himself, that he had gained them over to his interest, though their proposing to him, that he should first resign his post of lieutenant general, might naturally enough make him suspect their sincerity. How great, therefore, must have been his surprize, when, after doing what they proposed, Don Diego de Abreu was declared governor, on the very first scrutiny, and proclaimed on the spot. Thunder-struck, in a manner, to see himself thus outwitted by those, whom he flattered himself he had made his friends, he consulted those, whom he still thought so ; and, they all, unluckily for him, gave it as their opinion, that the election was void ; and took notice to him, that it was in consequence of a premeditated design to exclude him from the supreme command, he had been first obliged to give up that he was in actual possession of ; that he should begin, by causing this his resignation to be declared surreptitious ; and then exercise the functions of it as before ; that they would support him in these measures, and soon find means to make him master of de Abreu's person.

THE new governor was soon informed of this cabal ; and, without losing a single moment, caused Mendoza's house to be invested. At the first motion for this purpose, almost all those, who had engaged him in this scrape, made their escape. The rest, who continued with him, were all put under arrest, and sentenced to lose their heads. Mendoza appealed to the Emperor's council ; but he was told, that his appeal was void and abusive ; and that he should think of nothing but to make his peace with God. Upon this, he resigned himself, and prepared for death, in a christian manner ; received the sacraments of the church ; and was conducted by a company of
soldiers

soldiers to the scaffold, which, to the almost general disapprobation of the province, the governor had caused to be erected before his own house.

WE cannot refuse our tears to the sad fate of a man of Don Mendoza's family, who, but a few days before, commanded in the same city, where he was now condemned to suffer as a criminal, and who had gained himself every heart by a behaviour equally affable and noble. As soon as he had ascended the scaffold, he expressed a desire of speaking, upon which a profound silence ensued. He then declared, that on the same day and month, a little before his departure from Spain, he had, in a fit of jealousy, and on bare suspicion, put to death his first wife, and his chaplain; that he now saw divine justice had ordered, that he should expiate his crime, by falling under the hands of an executioner; and that he cheerfully submitted to his sentence, praying God would be satisfied with punishing him in this life, and spare him in the next.

End of the Second Book.

B O O K III.

Irala returns to the Assumption, and punishes the authors of the revolutions during his absence. Stratagem of Irala to maintain himself in the government. The Assumption erected into a bishoprick. Arrival of the bishop. Irala's death. Arrival of a new governor. He and the bishop set out for Peru. The governor deposed by the viceroy of Peru. Another named in his place, who, on his arrival at the Assumption, quarrels with the bishop, and is by him conducted prisoner to Spain. A new governor sent from Spain. General description of Tucuman and Chaco. Two very remarkable nations in Chaco. Account of the Chiriguanes. Origin of the slavery in which the Spaniards hold the Indians.

1549. **T**HE governor, having rid himself of so dangerous a rival, had now nothing to do but endeavour to procure himself the Emperor's commission. He, therefore, immediately dispatched a caravel to Spain, with Don Alfonso de Riquelmi, whom he charged with a judicial attestation of his election, and the proofs that had been received of Irala's death; ordering Ferdinando de Ribera to escort him, with a brigantine, as far as the cape of Santa Mar ha. Riquelmi's caravel endeavouring to reach an island, in order to dart from thence into the ocean, was driven by a sudden squall upon a rock, and dashed to pieces. Ribera, having
soon

soon got intelligence of the caravel's misfortune; took on board the crew, which had happily escaped drowning, but were in the greatest danger of perishing by the hands of the savages; and arrived at the Assumption the latter end of the year 1549; when he found Irala returned from his inland expedition up the Paraguay.

THE whole town went four leagues to meet him, and saluted him in quality of their governor. Don Diego de Abreu, who had not resolution enough to oppose this reception, and might well foresee that Irala would make him pay dearly for Mendoza's death, chose to avoid his resentment by flight. Most of those, who had any reason to dread a prosecution on the same score, took the same step, and posted themselves in a mountain, from whence it was the more difficult to draw them, as the Indians in the neighbourhood had declared in their favour. But the governor was soon comforted for the loss of his prey by the arrival of Chavez and those who had accompanied him to Peru, from whence he returned, not only without losing a single man, but with a reinforcement of fifty Spaniards.

CHAVEZ, who was son-in-law to Don 1549-50. Francisco de Mendoza, claimed justice of the governor against those, who had any hand in his death; and Irala promised he should have it. Upon this, a few of those who had not as yet absconded were happy enough to make their escape; the rest suffered. Abreu, more and more alarmed at this severity, retired to a greater distance, but was at last overtaken. Twenty soldiers, who had express orders to take him dead or alive, and for that purpose were tracking him from place to place, having spied a kind of cabin surrounded with trees on the top of a mountain of difficult access, clambered up to it in the night-time;

and, having distinguished him among four or five Spaniards, who still continued to stick faithfully by him, one of them fired upon him, and laid him dead upon the spot.

THESE transactions were attended 1550-55. with great violence and confusion; and it is no easy matter to justify all Irala's proceedings on the occasion. Nay, from his behaviour to Don Alvarez there arises a very strong presumption to his prejudice. Unluckily for his reputation, he did not sufficiently disguise his passion to command; for which he certainly was in many respects extremely well qualified. The impunity, with which he permitted the soldiery and his adherents to treat not only the Indians, but the rest of the Spaniards, and which produced many revolts among the former, is utterly inexcusable. Accordingly, as he had all the reason in the world to fear, that some of the witnesses to his vexations would give the Royal council of the Indies, or the Emperor, an account of them, he had every where his spies, whose vigilance was so much the more formidable, as death, or at least imprisonment, was the certain consequence of being discovered to have written any letters to that purpose; for he never was at a loss for pretexts to go such lengths; and he was equally attentive to prevent any of the malcontents slipping into Peru, as he had as much to dread from those who commanded there, as from the Emperor and his council.

He could not but know, that, at the very time he sent an offer of his services to the president de la Gasca, this nobleman, whether because he resolved to accept them, or because some of Irala's deputies had informed him of the troubles in Paraguay, and made some complaints of their governor, resolved to send one there, upon whom he could depend; and had for this purpose, as we have

have already seen, cast his eyes upon Don Diego de Centeno, an old officer, whose name is famous in the history of Peru for his zeal for the service of his sovereign, and his other virtues, which rendered him equal to the most arduous undertakings, and worthy of the highest honours. The bounds of the country, which the commander general of Peru thought proper to commit to his care, were Cuzco and Charcas to the south east and west, on the one side; and, on the other side, Brazil from the fourteenth to the twenty-seventh degrees of south latitude.

He recommended to him, above all things, to bestow his first cares on forwarding the temporal and eternal happiness of the natives; never to employ force against them, till fair means should be found absolutely insufficient; and not only give the missionaries all the protection necessary for the due execution of their functions, but even take their advice in all his transactions relating to the Indians; not to lose time in running up and down the country, as his predecessors had done to very little or no purpose; but to extend his settlements by placing them at small distances one from the other; this being the only sure method of quieting the present, and preventing future, dissensions among the Spaniards, and retaining the Indians in their towns, since nothing but the dread of being molested can oblige them to desert their old habitations; to exact from the Indians but a very moderate tribute, and regulate it by the advice of the regular and secular clergy; to grant no favours but to such as by their service and good character appeared entitled to them; not to take with him any Spaniards who had a hand in Gonzalvo Pizarro's revolt; in fine, to see, that all those, who thought proper to follow him to Paraguay, observed on the road the strictest discipline, and

carried off no Indians by force, upon any pretext whatever.

It is not to be doubted, but that Paraguay would soon have put on another face, in consequence of instructions drawn up with so much wisdom, and given to a man of Centeno's character. But he died in the midst of his preparations to set out for it; and Irala, it is probable, knew nothing, till he received an account of Centeno's death, of the danger he was in of seeing himself supplanted by another, if his soldiers had not obliged him to hasten his return to the Assumption. Irala's first care, on finding himself freed from the danger of being thus supplanted from Peru, was to make useful establishments; and it must be owned that so far Paraguay is greatly indebted to him. He had, by this time, had leisure enough to see, that this colony could not subsist without a sea port, where vessels from Spain might easily arrive, and find sure and convenient anchorage; and it looks, as if he had resolved, in good earnest, to procure it that advantage, having sent captain Juan Romero, with one hundred soldiers, upon two brigantines to chuse one. Romero stopt at the mouth of a little river, which falls into the Rio de la Plata, a little above the islands of saint Gabriel; and had begun to lay down upon its banks the plan of a city, under the name of Saint John; which is likewise that of the river, when the Indians annoyed the Spaniards to such a degree, that he, at length, thought proper to give up the attempt, and set out for the Assumption.

HAVING, one day during the passage, landed with some of his people to dine on the banks of the river, the spot, where he ordered the table to be laid, suddenly loosened from the main land, and floated off with the stream. Upon this, he made an attempt to swim back to the brigantine,

gantint. But there ensued so great an agitation in the waters, that, to avoid being drowned with all his men, he was soon obliged to make for the shore, where he was scarce arrived, when the brigantine went to the bottom. At the end of eight days, she appeared again, when all those who had been left on board her were found dead, except a woman, who assured them she had suffered nothing, though she had, for twice twenty four hours, forty four fathom of water upon her.

SOME time after this, the Guaranis, who lived near the great fall of the Parana, and had voluntarily submitted to the Spaniards, applied to the governor for assistance against the Tapez, inhabitants of the frontiers of Brazil, who, supported by the Portuguese, made frequent irruptions into their country, and committed great ravages there. Irala, thinking it the duty, and even the interest, of the Spaniards, to afford them protection, raised a little army composed of Spaniards and Indians; took the command of it himself, and led it to the habitations of the Guaranis, where their warriors joined him. He then marched to the Tapez, who defended themselves very well, but were worsted at last; and, to avoid being entirely cut to pieces, promised they would never molest the Guaranis for the future.

THE governor, having carefully examined the spot occupied by the Guaranis, thought it would be proper to build a town there, as well to be at hand to awe all this frontier of Brazil, as to get nearer to the sea, and thereby always have a better opportunity of informing the council of the Indies of all the wants of the colony. This resolution once taken, he no sooner reached the Assumption, than he charged Garcias Rodriguez de Vergara, with the execution of his project, and sent him off, in 1654, with sixty men, and every

thing requisite for such an undertaking. Vergara began by looking about for an advantageous situation for his new town; and, at last, flattered himself he had discovered one to the right of the Parana, a little above the great fall. He, therefore, immediately set about the work, and called his new town *Ontiveras*, after a town in Castile, where he was born. But this name of Ontiveras was soon lost, in that of *Guaya*, which the province was known by.

ABOUT this time, there arrived an order at the Assumption from the council of the Indies, to suspend the discoveries, and the new establishments among the Indians; and Irala caused it to be published. He then sent to Spain the Regidor Don Pedro de Molina, a man zealously attached to him, under the pretext of informing his majesty of the condition and wants of his province; but, in reality, to have an eye to his interests at court. And, lest any one should take advantage of this opportunity to write against him, he kept Molina's voyage very secret, and sent away with him Nuflo de Chaves, who was preparing, by his orders, to march against the Indians of the Brazilian frontiers, of whom his allies had made him heavy complaints. But, as he still dreaded, that, in spite of all his precautions, the malcontents might find out some means or other of conveying memorials against him to the council of the Indies, he thought it but prudent, in order to ward so dangerous a stroke, to write himself to the Emperor, and beseech his majesty to order his conduct to be enquired into, from a persuasion, that the confidence expressed by such a request would defeat all the complaints against him, which might happen to reach the sovereign himself, or his council. Trusting, therefore, to his precaution, and looking upon himself as secure from any court storm, he, at last, proceeded to a distribution of the lands, which hitherto he

he had constantly refused ; but he did it more like a sovereign, than a subject ; and, in spite of the Emperor's injunctions, made grants to Portuguese and other strangers ; threatening, with the severest punishment, all those who should take upon themselves publickly to blame his conduct in this respect ; as he made no doubt, he said, of obtaining the Emperor's approbation of all his measures.

To this act of despotism he soon added two regulations, which tended greatly to obstruct the trade carried on between the Spaniards and the Indians. The Indians made no scruple to express their displeasure at it, though the fear of being still worse treated hindered most of them from stirring. Chaves was sent, with one hundred and fifty men, to chastise those who did ; but he found it a much harder task than he at first imagined. The Indians defended themselves well, and killed him a great many men, for which reason, though they lost as many themselves, he thought proper to proceed, for the future, by way of negociation ; by which he, at last, prevailed upon them to return to their duty, and upon the chiefs to follow him to the Assumption. Irala put up with the promise they gave him of being more submissive for the future. People were surprized at his treating them with so much lenity ; but he had just received some private intelligence, which gave him too much uneasiness to let him think of engaging in a new war.

THE Emperor having manifested, since the year 1547, a resolution of sending a governor to Paraguay ; Don Juan de Sanabria, a very wealthy gentleman, made an offer to his majesty, to transport there, at his own private expence, a good number of families, two hundred and fifty soldiers, and ten franciscan friars ; with wheat, beans, and other kinds of seed, to sow the lands with ; materials to build ten brigantines to ply on the river ; and

goods to be advanced to the Spaniards, in order to enable them to trade with the natives ; likewise to form two new establishments ; one, at the mouth of the river St. Francis, already mentioned, between the islands of Cananee, and St. Catherine. The Emperor accepted these offers, on condition that Sanabria would, likewise, take on board one thousand quintals of iron, one hundred of steel, a number of such handicrafts as are most useful in a new colony, provisions for all these mouths till the first crop, and six compleat chapels for an equal number of priests that might want them ; which Sanabria consenting to, his majesty conferred on him all the power he had before conferred on Don Pedro de Mendoza ; created him adelantade, governor, captain general, and alguazil major of the province of Rio de la Plata, with all the appointments attached to these dignities granted him the post of lieutenant general for all the places he should build ; and all the power necessary to explore, and people the country, in what manner he himself might think proper. In fine, he recommended to him not to suffer above one Regidor in the place of his residence, nor permit the ordinary alguazils to raise the duties higher than five per cent.

THE new adelantade, having received his commissions, repaired to Seville, to forward his armament, and there received fresh orders from the Emperor, of which the principal were, not to allow the Portuguese of Brazil to carry on any commerce with Paraguay ; to require nothing of the friars for their passage ; and to take out of the royal treasury three hundred ducats, to supply them with every thing they might want for the due celebration of the holy mysteries. But, at the time Don Juan de Sanabria was most taken up with the preparations for his voyage, he died, to the
great

great regret of all those who knew him, and had the welfare of the province of Paraguay at heart. His death, in fact, was a great loss to this infant colony, which now, more than ever, required the assistance of a governor like him.

THE Emperor having offered Sanabria's son to renew with him the treaty he had made with his father, he accepted it with thanks; and, after several unexpected delays, embarked for his government; but, on entering the bay of Rio de la Plata, he unfortunately perished by shipwreck, with all his company, except a few sailors, who, carrying the news of it to the Assumption, spread a general consternation among the inhabitants. It appears by some historians, that the Emperor sent new commissions to Irala, when he found that young Sanabria would not be ready to set out as soon as it was first expected, though it does not equally appear, that Irala stood in need of such commissions to retain his place, till a successor appointed by the Emperor should arrive, unless, perhaps, those he already had were for a limited time, and the term of them was expired.

THE news of Sanabria's misfortune was soon compensated by that of the Emperor's having, at length, procured the province of la Plata a bishop; a thing much more necessary, than many persons in the colonies are willing to believe. In a consistory held at Rome, the first of July 1547, by Pope Paul III. the city of the Assumption was erected into a bishoprick, under the title of *Capidum seu Pagus de Rio de la Plata*; and father Juan de Barros, of the order of St. Francis, was appointed to it, but he never took possession of it. On his translation to another see, in 1554, father Pedro de la Torr , of the same order, was named to succeed him, and set out, the year following, for Paraguay.

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The inhabitants of the Assumption, having learned that there appeared some ships at the entrance of Rio de la Plata, by means of fires; which the Indians had agreed with the Spaniards to make from distance to distance on such occasions; and soon after, that the ships brought them a bishop, prepared to receive him, in a manner suitable to his dignity, and expressive of the great hopes they entertained, that his presence would procure them a considerable abatement of the evils most of them groaned under. The secular clergy, very few in number, the friars of St. Francis, and two of the order for the redemption of captives, at the first news of his approach, went out to meet him, and found him attended by no mean retinue of priests and domesticks; the Emperor having thought proper, that he should appear, at his first entrance into his diocese, with a train suitable to his dignity. Irala, who happened to be absent from the Assumption, when the first news of the bishop's approach arrived there, hastened back to receive him; and, on meeting him, fell upon his knees to ask his benediction.

DON PEDRO DE LA TORRE had left Spain with three ships full of men, arms, and ammunition, all sent by the Emperor, under the command of Martin de Urua, who came to Spain from Rio de la Plata, in quality of procurator of that Province. He delivered Irala commissions, which continued him in his government, and some orders of his majesty, containing a great many regulations, of which the principal related to what the Spaniards call *Commandes*.

THESE *commandes* were a method contrived to reward those, who had contributed to the establishment of the colony, and who, as has been already observed, were stiled the *Conquerors* of Paraguay. We shall soon explain, at large, what these *commandes*

mandes were. Let it suffice, for the present, to say, that they consisted of a certain number of Indian subjects, who were ~~obliged~~ to serve those to whom they were ~~granted~~. But, there not being, as yet, enough of these poor creatures to supply all the Spaniards, who laid claim to their services, the governor, by the advice of the bishop and all those who had a right of voting in the council, resolved to form new settlements of the natives, of whom they thought themselves intitled to dispose, at the same time that they knew it was impossible to do it, till they fixed them ~~to some~~ certain spot.

1557- The year following, the governor sent captain Rui Diaz Melgarejo into the province of Guayra, by which was understood all the country watered by the Parana, above the great fall and the rivers that flow into it. Melgarejo, after surveying a great deal of it, found the situation of the city of Guayra but indifferent. He, therefore, took all the inhabitants out of it; and, having transported them to the other side of the Parana, he there traced out, on the banks of it but three leagues higher, near the place where it receives the little river Piquiri, a new town, which he called *Ciudad Real*. The air here is not over wholesome; but, in other respects, the situation is very advantageous. Fish, and land game especially, are found herein the greatest plenty. Forty thousand Indians were given to the inhabitants of the place, who found no great difficulty in bringing them to cultivate the earth, which, in a short time, rewarded their pains with plentiful crops of grain, pulle, and cotton. Some memoirs say, that vines and sugar canes were planted here with some success.

At the same time that Irala sent Melgarejo into the province of Guayra, he dispatched Nufio de Chaves, with two hundred and twenty soldiers, and three thou-

thousand five hundred Indians, to make such another establishment among the Xarayes. Chaves, who had his own views, found no situation, in all the country, convenient enough for a town; so turned to the West, on receiving advice, that, by following a course laid down to him, he would meet with Guaranis pretty near the frontiers of Peru. One of the first nations he found on his road, was the Chiquites, who obliged him to measure his strength with them; for, as war was not his errand, and he was besides, desirous of preserving all the troops he had brought with him, he, at first, turned out of their way. But when he thought he had least to fear from those brave Indians, who had given so much uneasiness to the conquerors of Peru, he found them before him, armed with pikes darts and arrows, defended by a strong pallisadoe surrounded with ditches and trenches; and the whole with pointed stakes of a very hard wood driven into the earth.

CHAVES, now finding that the Chiquites were resolved in good earnest not to let him proceed any further, hesitated no longer to attack them; and, at last, obliged them to give way, and take to their heels, though not without the loss of a good many men, who were killed on the spot, and a great many others, who, though very slightly wounded in appearance, died in a few days after, the Chiquites, it seems, having made use of poisoned arrows to defend themselves. Upon this, the surviving Spaniards insisted on Chaves's executing the orders he had received to form an establishment among the Chiquites. This was a fine opportunity to secure the possession of King's Port; but Chaves, it seems, was resolved not to return back to Paraguay.

In the mean time, he received intelligence of the death of Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, who, having made an excursion to, an Indian town to
hasten

hasten a fall of wood for the construction of a chapel, he was building in the cathedral of the Assumption, was seized with a slow fever, which obliged him to return to the city, and carried him off in a short time. He had, however, time enough to prepare for his appearance before God, and made the proper use of it. The bishop never stirred from him during these precious moments, and he expired with sentiments, which greatly edified the assistants. As soon as he saw himself near his end, he named Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, his son in law, lieutenant general and commander of the province, till the Emperor should name another; and this choice was universally approved. Mendoza scrupulously followed all the views of his father in law, in regard to the making of new establishments; and, as he had none so much at heart, as that Chaves had been directed to attempt among the Xarayes, he immediately dispatched an express to him with orders to execute what had been already prescribed to him on that head.

THE messengers found him on the 1557-58. spot, where he had forced the intrenchment of the Chiquites. But he had advanced too far to return, though not without maturely weighing all the consequences of it. Most of his men, he had reason to fear, would desert him; and, in fact, one hundred and forty told him plainly, that, if he was resolved not to return to the Xarayes, they could follow him no further. To this he made answer, that he did not intend to force any man. Upon this, they named for their commander the captain Gonzales Casco, and set out for the Xarayes. Chaves with about sixty men, who remained with him, continued his march to the plains of the *Tamaguaco*, where he met captain Andrew Marso, whom the marquis de Canette

nette, viceroy of Peru, had sent with a strong detachment to make an establishment there.

THOUGH these two officers met in a country extensive enough to satisfy their ambition, they could not agree; so that, to terminate the differences between them, it was, at last, found requisite to have recourse to the royal audience of la Plata*. The president of this superior court repaired to the field of contention, and assigned to each his district. Upon this, Chaves, leaving his company under the orders of Fernand de Salazar his lieutenant, immediately went to pay his respects to the viceroy at Lima, and gave him to understand, that the country ceded to him was very rich, and would admit of very good establishments. The marquis de Canette, though he knew Chaves only by name, and that he had married one of his relations†, took a great liking to him, and immediately named his son, Don Garcias de Mendoza, governor of all this country, and bestowed the post of king's lieutenant under him upon Chaves, whom he ordered to return there directly. Chaves obeyed, and began the exercise of his charge by founding in this new province a town, called *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, at the foot of a mountain, and on the banks of a very pretty rivulet. Sixty thousand Indians of the neighbourhood were reduced without fighting; but, as most of them were of the nation called *Moxes*, who were not converted in less than one hundred and fifty years after this period, their submission, during this long interval, was little better than apparent; for they never wore the yoke but when they could not shake

* The royal audiences are superior courts immediately under the viceroy. All that country, to which we give the name of, Paraguay, is subject to that of the city of la Plata.

† The daughter of Don Francis de Mendoza beheaded at the Assumption.

shake it off. This town has been since removed fifty leagues more to the north; and it is very probable, that the Moxes since that time entirely recovered their liberty.

In the mean time the Spaniards who had separated from Chaves, and whom all the Indians had followed, made the best of their way back to the Xarayes; and from thence, as soon as the vessels they had left with them were refitted, to the Assumption. The first thing they heard on their arrival here was, that the lieutenant general was dead, and that Don Juan Ortiz de Vergara, who had been unanimously elected to succeed him, had been publicly declared by the bishop, in the name of his majesty, governor, captain general, and chief justice of the province of Rio de la Plata, to the general satisfaction of all the inhabitants.

THE year following, the Guaranis revolted, probably with a view of being able to shake off a yoke, the weight of which grew from day to day more intolerable. Several of them had accompanied Nufio de Chaves in the expedition we spoke of; and, having seen the effects of the poisonous arrows of the Chiquites, had brought home a great quantity of them. They flattered themselves, it is probable, that with such arms they might soon be able to exterminate part of the Spaniards, and oblige the rest to abandon the country. Be that as it will, their revolt soon became a much more serious affair than it was at first thought to be; and the governor had occasion for all his forces to suppress it. The Guaranis had the advantage in the first skirmishes, and, if the poison of their arrows had not lost a great deal of its activity, might possibly have accomplished their design. At least, the Spaniards found it requisite to treat with great gentleness, those,

those, who first discovered a desire of peace, for fear the whole nation, which was very numerous, should conspire together; and supply with despair, the place of poison, now no longer of any service to them. This method had the desired success; but the Spaniards never benefited by the lesson, which this, and even another affair of the same kind, offered them, so far as to alter their treatment of men; they could not possibly do without, and whose affection, it will appear in the course of this history, they might have easily gained.

1560. THE governor, who had marched in person against the Guaranis in the neighbourhood of the Assumption, was scarce returned to that city, when an Indian came to require of him, in the name of Melgarejo, speedy succours against those in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Real, who had likewise taken up arms. The Indian added, that he had past through the thick of the enemies, who would have certainly stopt, and, perhaps, killed him, had he not bethought himself of speaking very ill of the Spaniards to all those he was under a necessity of conversing with. The governor seeing him naked, with nothing but his bow and arrows about him, asked him, what proof he could give of his commission. The only answer the Indian gave to this question was, by putting his bow into the governor's hand, and desiring him to examine it well. The governor turned it every way, and examined it on all sides, as did likewise all the assistants, but without discovering any thing extraordinary to attract their attention. The Indian, upon this, taking it back, shewed them in the middle of its bend, and on the inside, a little slit so well closed, as to be scarce discernible; and then drew out of it a note from Melgarejo, which was to serve him for his credentials.

THE general, after deliberating on the means to stifle this revolt, gave the commission to Don Alphonso de Riquelmi, who had distinguished himself greatly in that of the Guaranis nearer home. Riquelmi, after making some difficulty of accepting this commission, on account of some misunderstanding between him and Mèlgarejo, set out with seventy Spaniards. On his arrival, he found that the revolt was almost general throughout the whole country, and that Ciudad Real was reduced to the greatest extremity, being invested by the enemy with a strong barricade, which he was obliged to force before he could get into it. Though the governor was not overjoyed to see him, and betrayed his sentiments by the manner in which he received him, he begged him to make a sally on the enemy, excusing himself from doing it on account of a fluxion in his eyes, which, he said, almost deprived him of his sight.

1560-1. RIQUELMI consented; and, at the head of one hundred Spaniards, and a body of Indians, in whom, however, he placed no great confidence, forced the barricades, pursued the Indians to their nearest towns, seized some of their chiefs, whom he immediately ordered to be hanged; and, continuing his march, sent for the rest of their Caciques, who came in on the first notice, and applied for peace in the most submissive posture. He did not grant it, however, till he had taken security against their inconstancy. This done, he embarked his troops on the Parana; and hearing that there still remained in the heart of the country a great number of Indians, who had vowed the destruction of Ciudad Real, and the death of all the Spaniards, he set out in quest of them.

AFTER traversing a very thick wood, he discovered a body of Indians pretty advantageously

posted in a grove of pines, where he attacked them with so much resolution, that they, at last, fled in great disorder; but, being joined by great numbers of other Indians, they faced about, and suddenly surrounded Riquelmi in a very long and very narrow valley. Though he thoroughly comprehended the greatness of his danger, instead of suffering himself to be disheartened by it, he put on the bolder face; and, by his intrepid appearance, disconcerted the enemy to such a degree, that they permitted him to recover the plain, where a great number of Indians were encamped. These he immediately charged, killed a vast number of them, took a great many of those who had escaped prisoners, and among them many chiefs, who, to obtain their lives, told him they had been forced to take up arms by the most powerful Caciques of their nation, and by those who had been given in command to the Spaniards; and were, at any rate, for shaking off the Spanish yoke. Riquelmi, after spending all the winter following in reestablishing tranquility and order in this province, returned to the Assumption, where he was received, as it were, in triumph, and amidst the acclamations of all the inhabitants.

THE governor, who, probably, had not as yet received his commissions, but intended to send Melgarejo into Spain to solicit them, and give the Emperor an account of the present state of his province, thought he could not trust Ciudad Real, and the province of Guayra, to better hands than those which had delivered the one and pacified the other. He, therefore, sent for Melgarejo, for whose reception he had ready one of the largest and best built vessels that had been as yet seen in Paraguay. But in the middle of the night, just as the crew were on the point of going on board, she appeared all in a blaze, and was reduced to ashes, in spite of all the

the efforts of the inhabitants to save her. All endeavours to discover the incendiary proved equally ineffectual; but he was suspected to be somebody, who bore no good will to the governor, and grudged him a post, of which he thought himself more worthy.

1560-65. UPON this, some persons advised Vergara to apply to the Viceroy of Peru for commissions to confirm him in the government; and, though he could not, in all probability, take any step more detrimental to himself and to his province; he so much relished it, that, as soon as he had suppressed a new revolt among the Indians, in doing which a great deal of blood was spilt on both sides, he resolved to wait on the Viceroy in person, and spared no expence to appear to advantage. The comptroller, Philip de Caceres;* the factor, Peter de Orantes; the captains Peter de Segura and Christopher de Saavedra; the attorney general, Rui Gomez Maldonado; and a great many other gentlemen would be of the expedition. Nay, to the great surprize of most persons, the bishop himself thought proper to make one with them, attended by fourteen regular or secular priests.

VERGARA appointed Don Juan de Ortega to command at the Assumption during his absence, and caused himself to be escorted by three thousand Spaniards, and an equal number of Indians. Nufio de Chaves, who was now returned to the Assumption for his wife and children, set out along with him; and, on his arrival among the Itatines, persuaded three thousand of them to follow him, by making them the most magnificent promises. The governor had no sooner entered the territory of Santa Cruz, then Chaves, seeing his hands thus strengthened, declared to him, that he alone had a

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right

* Probably the son of the ancient comptroller, and the same who accompanied Don Alvarez in his last voyage.

right to command there ; upon which, nobody knowing who to obey, the greatest confusion and disorder ensued, and was soon followed by a great scarcity of provisions, which, along with the great fatigues of the journey proved fatal to numbers. The Itatines, especially, suffered so severely, that they thought proper to stop short, and build a town in a place, where the lands had the appearance of being very fertile, within thirty leagues of Santa Cruz, which the Spaniards and the rest of the Indians made great marches to reach. But here they found the same scarcity, they had experienced on their journey ; and a great number of the Indians belonging to the governor of Rio de la Plata perished by it. At the same time, the natives of the country rose up in arms, and the contagion spread even beyond the Guapay. Upon this, Chaves marched against the rebels with fifty Spaniards ; but not till he had given orders to his lieutenant, Fernand de Salazar to disarm the governor of Rio de la Plata, and all those who accompanied him, and hinder them from proceeding to Peru, till he was returned from his expedition. But, Vergara having dispatched a courier to la Plata to complain of this violence, the royal audience forbid Salazar to stop them any longer. Vergara, on his arrival at this capital of las Charcas, after many escapes from the inveteracy of the Indians, who were enemies to the Spaniards, and suffering a great deal by famine, found that still greater mortifications awaited him here.

THERE had been laid before the royal audience no less than one hundred and ten heads of accusation against him, some of them very weighty ; particularly, his having drawn from the province, and at a great expence, so many Spaniards and Indians, of which great numbers had perished on the journey. This sovereign court, however, declared to him, that

that they did not intend to judge of all these charges; but referred him to the licentiate, Don Lope García de Castro, governor and captain general of Peru, and president of the royal audience of Lima, where he resided. To this capital, therefore Vergara immediately repaired; and, on his arrival there, was stripped of his government, and ordered to appear before the royal council of the Indies, to answer all the charges brought against him. His government was given to Don Juan Ortiz de Zarate, an officer who had given proofs of his merit; but on condition, however, that he should obtain commissions directly from the king.

1566. THE year following, the new governor of Rio de la Plata past over from Peru into Spain, after naming Philip Cáceres his lieutenant general, and distributing to him and his attendants every thing requisite for their journey to the Assumption. Philip II. received him very graciously, and gave him the amplest powers, and the wisest instructions, for the advancement of the colony, the civilization of the natives, and the solid establishment of the christian religion in these vast countries.

1566-67. THE bishop, the lieutenant general, and the remains of the Spaniards and Indians who left Paraguay with Vergara, and who, it is probable, set out much sooner on their return home, took their road through Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where they found Chavez returned from his expedition, and were very well received by him. He even escorted them, for some time, with a good detachment; but he had his views, in doing them this politeness, for he seduced on the road as many of them as he possibly could; particularly, a very able miner, called Munos. On their arrival in the country where the Itatines had stopt, they learned, that

these Indians bore no good will to the Spaniards, whose resentment, besides, they dreaded, because they had separated from them without their consent. Chavez, therefore, thought it most prudent to turn out of their way a little, either to avoid giving them any occasion of jealousy, or to have the better opportunity of discovering their real intentions.

BEING informed, on his arrival near an Indian town, that several Caciques were assembled there, he entered it on horseback, with twelve soldiers only ; and alighted in the public place. Several Indians immediately flocked there, seemingly to welcome him, and conducted him to a very neat cabin, where they invited him to repose himself a little. As he was greatly fatigued, he, without further ceremony, threw himself into a hammock, and took off his helmet the better to enjoy the benefit of the fresh air, and sleep more at his ease. But he had scarce time to settle himself, when a Cacique came behind him, and, with a violent blow of a macana, killed him upon the spot. His twelve soldiers were all massacred at the same time, except a trumpeter, called Alexander, who, covered with wounds as he was, had time enough to get on horseback again, and inform Don Diego de Mendoza, who followed with the rest of the soldiers, of what had happened ; and who, without this notice, would have probably, shared the same fate.

1568. CHAVEZ, before his separation from the lieutenant general, had promised to wait for him at an appointed place. Caceres, therefore, not finding him there at this arrival, began to be very uneasy about him, when some Indians came to advise him of his tragical death. Upon this, Caceres pushed on ; and, at last, arrived, without any accident, on the banks of the Paraguay. He had
sent

sent before him six soldiers to weigh up the barks and canoes he had sunk in it, in order to return on board them to the Assumption; but some Payaguas and other Indians, having discovered them, fell upon them, and carried them into slavery. Cáceres himself arrived soon after this misfortune; and, hearing what had happened, offered to redeem his soldiers; but the Payaguas would not, at first, let him have back above three of them; and these, too, they sold him very dear. Some days after, however, they sent him the rest, but insisted on a still higher ransom, and even obliged him to advance.

He then bent his march towards the country of the Itatines; and, on his approach to their principal town, found himself suddenly invested, at a time his soldiers were working their way through a very bad step. The attack of the Itatines was both very warm, and very well concerted. The Spaniards, animated by their bishop and clergy, who exhorted them to put all their confidence in the ALMIGHTY, fought, as well as their Indians, with great bravery and order, notwithstanding the badness of their situation, and the inveteracy of their enemies; and, having gained a little ground, and recovered a little spirits, were preparing to make their best efforts, when all on a sudden the Itatines appeared as if seized with a sudden panic; and, the next moment, betook themselves to flight in a most precipite manner.

This was not the only rencounter Cáceres had with the Itatines, whose parties seemed to relieve each other regularly, in order to harraß him, and disabled some of his men in every skirmish. At last, when he had got within fifty leagues of the Assumption, he no longer found on his road any but allies, vying with one another to supply him with provisions and refreshments, and offer him all the other assistance in their power. The very day of

his arrival in the capital, which was one of the first of the year 1569, he assembled the council, even before he quitted his arms, to shew them his commission as Lieutenant General of the Province; and was received as such, without any opposition.

1569 THE first orders he gave were to finish and refit the brigantines and barks in the port, that they might be ready on the first notice; and, the beginning of the year following, he set out, on board them, with one hundred and fifty men, for the mouth of the river, in order to receive the succours, which the governor had promised to send him with all convenient speed. But, seeing no ships arrive, though he waited there for some time, and judging his presence more requisite at the capital, he left a letter of advice in a bottle fastened to a great cross, which he caused to be erected on the banks of one of the islands of St. Gabriel, and set out on his return to the Assumption.

He had scarce reached it, when a private quarrel, which had some time subsisted between him and the bishop of Paraguay, broke out in an open rupture; and the whole city divided into two parties, both ready to proceed to the last extremities. But what was pretty odd in this affair, several clergymen sided with the Lieutenant General, and some officers declared for the bishop. Caceres made those, who opposed him, feel all the weight of his authority; and the bishop excommunicated him with the principal ministers of his violences. Trouble and confusion now universally prevailed; and things, at last, came to such a pass, that there was no knowing a friend from an enemy. The lieutenant general having been one day advertised, that a resolution had been taken in the bishop's council to put him under arrest, he immediately laid hands upon all those he most suspected, beginning with the bishop's steward, Don Alphonso de Segovia; and then
took

took shipping to return to the islands of St. Gabriel.

On his arrival at the place where he had left his letter, he detached a brigantine to examine, if any ship appeared in the bay; and, being informed there did not, left more letters in several places and embarked again. He had brought with him the bishop's steward; and took it into his head to send him to Tucuman; but those he ordered to conduct him there, unable to penetrate into that province, of which the inhabitants of Paraguay as yet knew very little besides the name, brought him back again. Caceres, at last, after an absence of four months, arrived at the Assumption, where he found the fire of dissention at a greater height, than ever; nor did his presence extinguish it. Being given to understand that his life was in danger, he confined all those whom he happened to suspect of any designs upon it. He even gave orders to strangle in prison, a gentleman from Seville, called Pedro de Esquivel, and fix his head upon the gallows; then published, by sound of trumpet, orders not to hold any correspondence with the bishop, under the severest penalties; and being informed that his king's lieutenant, Don Martin Suarez de Toledo, had seen the prelate in private, he immediately stript him of all his employments.

1570 UPON this, the principal inhabitants of the city, not thinking their lives and liberties any longer in safety, retired to the country, and the bishop shut himself up in the house of the fathers of mercy, where he was not long permitted to remain quiet. The lieutenant general himself was very far from being at ease. His fears made him startle at every shadow, and he never appeared without a guard of fifty soldiers, which he besides often changed. The bishop, at last, lost patience; and, one day, as the lieutenant general was entering

ing the cathedral to hear mass, ordered him to be seized, and imprisoned under a strong guard; and even bolted and chained. His confinement lasted a whole year, at the end of which, the bishop himself conducted him to Spain; God thus permitting, that he should be treated in the same manner, in which, his father, if not himself, had treated the virtuous Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeça de Vaca. How this transaction was relished at court, I have not been able to discover. But it is certain, neither the lieutenant general, nor the prelate, ever returned to Paraguay.

As soon as these two champions were
1570-73 embarked, Don Martín Suarez de Toledo took upon him to exercise, not only without the consent, but even against the will, of the council, the functions of the charge, of which the lieutenant general had so lately stript him. Some time after, on the last day of September 1735, Juan de Garay, a Biscayen gentleman, founded the city of Santafé, about ten leagues higher than the place, where *Rio Salado*, coming from Tucuman, falls into *Rio de la Plata*; and, some years after, another was founded, under the name of Xeres, in the latitude of twelve degrees, and thirty leagues to the east of the Paraguay; but by whom, and upon what occasion, is not mentioned.

To return to the founder of Santafé, after he had brought his town to some form, he resolved to gain some knowledge of the neighbourhood, especially to the west, where he wished to be able to extend his district beyond the river. Having caused a bark and some pirogues to be built for this purpose, he embarked on board them with fifty soldiers, and entered *Rio Salado*, on the banks of which he was every where pretty well received by the Indians he met with, till one day, that he found himself surrounded by them in such a manner, as gave him just cause to suspect their sincerity. He had
scarce

scarce put himself in a condition not to be surprized by them, when the whole country appeared in a blaze. Upon this, he immediately dispatched orders to the master of the bark, which he had left behind, probably because she drew too much water, to send one of his men to the round top, to see and discover the cause of so sudden and general a conflagration; and the messenger immediately returned with word, that the country was quite covered with armed Indians, marching towards him at a great rate.

He immediately drew out his handful of men, and exhorted them not to flinch at the sight of this rabble, which would not stand the discharge of their fire arms. The next moment, a soldier, whom he had posted on an eminence, sent to inform him, that he saw a man, on horse back, pursuing a body of these Indians; and he himself soon discovered six horsemen, driving the same body towards him with such fury, that the poor wretches, to be more at liberty, threw away their bows and arrows, crying out, to his great surprize, that they were pursued by Spaniards. Upon this, he immediately dispatched an Indian, who was greatly attached to him, and knew the country well, with a letter to the Spaniards, with whom he soon returned. The account they gave of themselves was, that they were under the orders of Don Jerom Lewis de Cabrera, governor of Tucuman, who, having founded a town in this province, on the last day of September 1573, by the name of New Cordova, had sent them to reconnoitre the country; and that this expedition was the cause of that alarm, which he had perceived amongst the inhabitants of it.

THEY then took leave of him, in order to rejoin their general; and Garay returned to Santafé. The governor of Tucuman, on the arrival of his party, sent Onufro de Aguilar, to declare to Garay, that
Santafé

Santafé belonged to his government, and to summon him to acknowledge him for his governor and captain general. Aguilar executed his commission with the forms required by law, not only in regard to Garay himself, but likewise the inhabitants of his new town. To this summons they answered, that Santafé, having been founded by orders of him who commanded at the Assumption, and of the council of the province of Rio de la Plata, it was before them, of course, that the governor of Tucuman should lay his pretensions. In the mean time, three canoes full of Indians arrived at Santafé, and delivered Garay a letter, from the Adelantade Don John Ortiz de Zaraté, dated at Port St. Gabriel.

In this letter, Don John, who, on his arrival at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, had been informed of the foundation of Santafé, appointed Garay his king's lieutenant; and, in quality of Adelantade, chief justice of Santafé; acquainting him, at the same time, that he was in great want of provisions, and a reinforcement of men to awe the Charuas, who prevented his sending for any to the continent. He, likewise, enclosed him copies of his own commissions, and some royal cedulae, which contained little more than a confirmation of them. Aguilar, who had not as yet left Santafé, having nothing to reply when shewed these commissions, immediately set out for Cordova.

As yet we have had no occasion to speak of Tucuman, in the course of this history; but it is impossible to proceed any further, without taking notice of the transactions in that province, and even Chaco, which divides it, in many places, from what was then called the province of Rio de la Plata, hitherto the sole object of our attention. To prove this necessity the better, and render more intelligible what I have to say of these two provinces, I think

think it will be proper to begin by making the reader well acquainted with their extent ; their situation ; their original inhabitants ; in what manner the Spaniards settled in the first ; and all the other most remarkable particulars of both.

TUCUMAN is bounded, to the east, by Chaco, taken in the extent given it by father Locano, a jesuit, the only historian, who has given us any account of it ; to the west by the province of *Cuyo*, dependant upon Chili, and by the mountains of Peru ; to the north and north-west, by the province of *las Charcas* ; to the north-east, by that of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra* ; and is, all, contained between the twenty third and twenty second degrees of south latitude. There is one thing very remarkable in this province, and that is, the nearer you approach the tropic, the colder it is. This is owing to several chains of mountains, some of them exceedingly high, that lie near its northern extremity. Its figure pretty much resembles that of a cone, with its vertex under the tropic. The base may measure about sixty leagues from east to west. Its name is that of the first nation, met by those who entered it on the side of Peru.

MOST of the northern nations live in marshes, where their chief food consists of fish. The southern nations are perpetually roving from place to place, in an extensive country, where they subsist by hunting and fowling. It is reported, that human skeletons have been found there more than twenty foot long ; but this is not the only fable, that has gained credit, concerning these remote quarters of South-America. The same stature has been attributed to some people in the neighbourhood of the streights of Magellan, known, in a great many relations, by the name of *Patagonians*. We shall find in the course of this history, that all their wonders have been advanced without

out almost any foundation. In the heart of Tucuman, the men are, in general, of a lower stature, and more stupid, than those, whom the first adventurers found in the vallies of the Cordilliere of Peru, and equally savage and indolent. There are some nations, who use no other shelter, but grottoes they make themselves under ground, where the day light very seldom penetrates. Those next to Peru and the province of las Charcas, are not quite so destitute, as the rest, of the conveniences of life; they live in towns. Some have copper and silver, which they receive from the province of las Charcas, in which Potosi is situated; but they seem to set very little value upon these metals.

THERE are, in Tucuman, sheep about the size of a small camel, but very strong loined, for which reason they make use of them for carrying burthens. Their wool is so extremely fine, that, when made into stuffs, it can scarce be discerned from silk. Lions and tygers are pretty common here. The first are small, and not much to be feared; but the second are larger and fiercer than those of any other country. I have already taken notice of the same difference between these two species of animals, in speaking of the countries watered by the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata; and it may be said to hold good of all this part of the continent of South-America. The Indians get the tygers out of the woods, by setting fire to them; and then kill them, in great numbers, with their arrows, at which they have a very good aim; but, then they must be extremely wary and nimble to hinder the tygers from being before hand with them.

THE principal rivers of Tucuman are those most commonly called *Rio Salado*, and *Rio Dolce*. Next to these the most considerable is *Rio Tercero*, which I have already taken notice of. But, though the

the two first rivers receive several small ones, it is but here and there they have, in the dry seasons, water enough to carry pirogues. Both have their sources in the mountains of Peru, and very often change their names. Rio Salado falls into Rio de la Plata; and Rio Dolce loses itself in some lakes, called *Pavangos*. There are several others, which steal into the bosom of the earth, in the same manner they issue from it. Most of them even run so short a way, and have so little water, that no names have been given them, at least in maps. Almost all of them change the names given them by the inhabitants, at every town they pass through. The forests are full of springs, and at almost every step are to be found little lakes and marshes, which never dry. So much water must contribute greatly to refresh and fertilize the land. Accordingly, though it never rains in Tucuman during six months of the year, the earth, kept moist by the inundations naturally produced by the almost constant rains during the other six months, yield, with due cultivation, several sorts of grain pulse and esculent roots.

TUCUMAN was pretty well inhabited, when the Spaniards entered Peru. The nations nearest that empire had submitted to the Incas. Others were governed by Caciques, who acknowledged no superior. Those, who roved about from place to place, were separated into families, which acknowledged no masters but their several heads. The forests between Rio Dolce and Rio Salado abound with honey and wax. Cotton, carouge, cochenil, and pastel, are to be met with in many places. The carouge lasts the whole year, and some nations make their ordinary food of it. Formerly, the principal riches of this country consisted in cotton clothes, which passed current for money

money among the inhabitants, and were sent, in great quantities, to Potosi.

THEY likewise fed great quantities of large and small cattle. The Spaniards, who first penetrated into this province, had turned loose, into the plains and deserts, horses and oxen, which they had brought with them from Peru. These animals multiplied to a prodigious degree; so that the new masters of the country, freed from the care of breeding or feeding them, and having nothing to do but hunt them down, lived for some time pretty much at their ease. But, too little pleased with this happy mediocrity, they despised it to look out for gold; and, too idle to supply the place of it by labour, for their enquiries produced but very little, they threw the whole weight of providing for their subsistence upon the poor Indians, and thereby made of them irreconcilable enemies, who have often ravaged not only their separate habitations, but even their towns; so that Tucuman, though so near Potosi and Peru, is one of the poorest colonies the Spaniards have in the new world.

THE weather is so excessively cold, in some parts of Tucuman, during the winter, that it is not an uncommon thing to find animals, that have perished by it. Not only it never rains, but there seldom appears so much as a cloud, in that season. Spring is ushered in by such heavy showers, that, in towns, the streets resemble so many rivers; and, in the open country, the waters, united in the bottoms, form very large lakes. These showers are accompanied with thunder and lightening, and hail, often as large as a hen's egg. Summer, too, has its inconveniences. The heat then produces such prodigious quantities of bugs, that the inhabitants have no way to avoid them but by sleeping in the open air in their gardens. Nor is
that

that alone quite sufficient. Yet, the air of Tucuman is said to be pretty wholesome. Nuflo de Chaves seems to have the best title to the honour of having discovered this province, though some Spaniards had crossed it as far as the Rio de la Plata; for, he penetrated more than once into it, and gave an account of many things relating to the northern parts of it not before taken notice of.

Be that as it will, Tucuman was not settled till the year 1542, when Vaca de Castro, viceroy of Peru, after defeating the young Almagro, distributed, among his captains, the governments, his victory had enabled him to confer; and gratifying with that of Tucuman, though not as yet conquered, Don Diego de Rojas; who had distinguished himself by his fidelity and valour during the civil wars. Rojas entered his province with three hundred men, and surveyed part of it; but, after meeting with a pretty good reception from several nations, was, the year following, wounded by a poisoned arrow, in a skirmish with some others; and died of the wound, having refused the assistance of an Indian woman, who promised to cure him.

UPON this, Gutierrez whom the viceroy of Peru had named his king's lieutenant, thought to assume the command of the army; but, as he had some misunderstanding with Don Diego de Rojas, the officers, and even the soldiers, refused to obey him, and chose Don Francisco de Mendoza, who had accompanied Gutierrez, as his friend, for their general. Gutierrez, however, insisting on his right, Mendoza made the troops consent to his sharing the command with him. They then made some excursions together; but soon began to quarrel. Upon this, Mendoza put Gutierrez under arrest, and sent him with six of his adherents, under a

guard of thirty horsemen to Peru. He then required an oath of fidelity from the army. This the camp-master Nicholas de Heredia opposed, as Guttierrez had not as yet received a commission from the viceroy of Peru; but, being the only person of this sentiment, he was soon obliged to swear like the rest.

IN the mean time, Mendoza did nothing but ramble up and down the country, and made no establishment in any place. At length, the president de la Gasta, in 1549, appointed Don Juan Nunes de Prado governor of Tucuman; gave him troops to keep the Indians in awe; and families to people the country; charged him to take, along with him, priests both regular and secular; and gave him instructions in the same strain with those he had already given to Don Diego Centeno, for the province of Rio de la Plata. The fathers Alphonso Trueno, and Gaspar de Caravaia, of the order of the Merci, set out with him, and were the first to publish the gospel in Tucuman. But their mission would have been much more successful, had Prado lived longer, or his successors followed the instructions he had received, with equal exactness.

THE governor, to secure an easy passage into his province, founded, in the valley of Calchaqui, in the latitude of twenty four degrees and thirty minutes, a town, which he called *Saint Michael*. But it subsisted but for a short time; for we are not to confound it with another town of the same name, which we shall hereafter have occasion to mention. From the valley of Calchaqui the governor entered upon the plains, and caused crosses to be erected in some places, and constituted them so many asylums, which wrought in the Indians so great a respect for this sign of our salvation, that they planted crosses, like them, in all their

their towns. Some time after this, Don Francis de Vilagras, who was marching, at the head of some troops, from Peru into Chili, having taken his rout by Tucumán, encroached upon Prado's authority; pretending that this province depended upon Chili. Prado took up arms to support his right; but had the misfortune to be beat and made prisoner. Vilagras, however, satisfied with having humbled his adversary, set him free, on condition, that he would acknowledge the governor of Chili for his superior.

PRADO survived this disgrace but a short time. Soon after his death, Don Pedro de Valdivia, conqueror and governor of Chili, sent Don Francisco d'Aguirre to Tucumán, to command there as his lieutenant general. D'Aguirre soon became governor; founded, in 1562, the town of Santiago, in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees, in a very hot climate, and a sandy but well watered spot, on the banks of Rio Dolce, which forms, in this place, a kind of lake or rather pond, from whence the town has obtained the name of *Santiago de l'Estero*. Two years after this, according to the most common opinion, the town of St. Michael was transferred twenty leagues north-west of Santiago to a most delightful spot, in a very fertile country, on a little river, that falls into Rio Dolce, pretty near the highest mountain of the frontier, called *Quebrada de Calchaqui*.

IN 1567, Don Diego de Heredia, whom father Locano, in his description of Chaco, stigmatizes as the usurper of the government of Tucumán, built, on the banks of Rio Salado, a town, which he called *our lady of Falavera of Madrid*, but which is better known under the name of *Esteeco*, being that of the place where it stood; for now it no longer subsists.

IN 1582, the licentiate, Don Hernando de Lerma, governor of this province, founded, in the valley of Salta, a town under the name of *San Philippe de Lerma*, in the latitude of about twenty four degrees and fifteen minutes; but it has been almost always known by the name of *Salta*. This town is charmingly situated in a valley surrounded with mountains at a pretty good distance, from whence issue several rivulets, which render it extremely fertile, and enable it to feed cattle enough for its own consumption, and that of the neighbouring provinces. A little before this period, the Spaniards founded, fifteen leagues more to the north, another town, under the name of *San Salvador de Jujuy*, which, after being twice destroyed by the Indians of Chaco, was rebuilt, for the third time, in 1593. These three last towns were built by way of barrier to Tucuman, against the Indians of Chaco, who have never ceased annoying them, and have several times ruined all the smaller settlements in their neighbourhood.

It appearing equally proper to fortify this province to the south in the year 1558, Don Juan Gomez de Zurita, its governor, founded, on the road from Santiago to Chili, a fortress, to which he gave the name of Canette, and which was since, when erected into a city, called *New London*, in honour of Mary queen of England, consort of Philip the II, king of Spain. But there remains nothing of it at present.

CORDUBA or Cordova, at present the most considerable place in Tucuman, and the see of the bishop of that province, is situated in the heart of the country, almost mid-way between *Santafe* and *Saint John de la Frontera*, which depends upon Chili. Corduba has no river, but only a little stream, which,

which, after a very short course, is lost in a lake. It, however, supplies the town with great plenty of fish; and there is, besides, abundance of other game in the neighbourhood. Corduba has all the advantages a great town can wish for; fertile fields, and agreeable hills planted by the Spaniards with vines, which yield a great deal of wine. It is, in short, as it were, the centre of the trade and communication between Buenos Ayres, Chili, and the province of las Charcas. The jesuits have a great college here; an university of some reputation; a noviceship; and a seminary for young noblemen, called Montserrat. It is, perhaps, the only place in this province, which deserves the name of a city, and has the appearance of one.

FATHER Gaetan. Catenio, a modeneze jesuit, who set out for Paraguay in 1728, and finished his course there in a short time, describes it, in one of his letters, which the late signor Muratori annexed to his last work, intitled, *Il Cristianesimo felice nelle Missioni de Patri della Compagnia de Jesu, nel Paraguay*, that of *Rioja*, of which we shall speak presently, and where the jesuits have a college, as composed of several hamlets, seperated by fields covered with trees, bushes and briars; so that, on his arrival there, he was pretty much surprized to find himself in the middle of the town, and pretty near his college, at a time he thought himself a great way from it. All the towns, however, are not equally country like. Some of them are surrounded with a pallisade, at least; though few of them are better built. In this respect, however, and that of populousness, they are equal to most of the towns of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, the capitals excepted.

DON JUAN GOMEZ ZURITA was the first to give a regular form to this province. He made war successfully against the Indians, and spread so far

the terror of the spanish arms, that, on taking, in 1558, the numbers of those whom he had subjected by force or by fair means, he found, in the province of Santiago alone, no less than eighty thousand, who paid tribute to his catholic majesty. But Zurita, notwithstanding this success, incurred the displeasure of the governor of Chili, who, in 1561, sent Don Gregorio Castanenda there to command in his stead. Zurita refused to give up his post; but he defended it ill, was defeated, and sent prisoner to Peru. The province, however, did not thrive the better for this revolution, especially after Castanenda demolished the town, called New London. In 1563, therefore, it was found necessary to send back there Don Francisco d'Aguirre, who succeeded pretty well in putting things upon the old footing. But he was not allowed time to enjoy the fruits of his labours; for he was soon after called back to Peru, when Tucuman, it seems, was declared immediately subject to the viceroys of Peru, and within the jurisdiction of the royal audience of las Charcas.

TUCUMAN, as I have already said, is separated from Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, which for many years made but one province, by the country called Chaco, which, though not as yet reduced, is so connected with the object of this history, that I cannot but give some account of it. I have already observed, that Father Locano gives this province an extent, which confines, on the West, those of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata to the great river known by these two names; but this, however, without pretending to abridge the rights of these two provinces, or of Tucuman, and las Charcas, on the side of which he does not pretend to assign it any bounds. Indeed, the governors themselves of Tucuman and las Charcas cannot assign it any, on account of the perpetual ne-
cessary

nessity they are under of repressing the hostilities of the inhabitants of Chaco.

BE that as it will, I shall now communicate to the reader, what the historian, whom I have just cited, tells us of this extensive country. The name of *Chaco* seems to be of a new date; for there is no mention made of it by this name in the life of St. Solano, of the order of St. Francis, who published the gospel in every part of this country. But in the Quitchoane language, which is the original language of Peru, they call *Cbacu*, those great flocks of deer goats and such other wild animals, which the inhabitants of this part of America drive together when they hunt them; and this name was given to the country we speak of, because, at the time Francis Pizarro made himself master of a great part of the Peruvian empire, a great number of its inhabitants took refuge there. Of *Cbacu*, which the Spaniards pronounce Chacou, custom has made *Chaco*. It appears, that, at first, they comprehended nothing under this name, but the country lying between the mountains of the Cordilliere, the Pilco Mayo, and the Red River; and that they extended it, in process of time, in proportion as other nations joined the Peruvians, who had taken refuge there to defend their liberties against the Spaniards.

ALL those, who speak of Chaco, agree in representing it as one of the finest countries in the world; but this is exactly true in regard to that district alone, which the Peruvians first occupied. A chain of mountains, which begins within sight of Corduba, and, after a turn from South to North, extends to the new town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, forms, on that side, so strong a barrier, especially in what they call the *Cordilliere of the Cbiriguanes*, as to render it inaccessible in all these places. Several of these mountains are so very high, that the

vapours of the earth never reach their summits ; but the winds here are so impetuous, that they often carry off the travellers from their horses. The sight of the precipices, by which they are separated, would alone be sufficient to turn the brain of the most resolute traveller, if the thick clouds hanging on their sides did not intercept the prospect.

WE can scarce doubt, that these mountains, which are one of the branches of the great Cordilliere, contain several mines. Nay some have been lately discovered ; but we are not told what they contain. It is, however, a constant tradition in Peru, that the *Cbicas* and the *Orejones*, who formerly inhabited these very mountains, and of whom several took refuge in Chaco, and in the island in the middle of the lake of the Xarayes, as I have already said, used to bring both gold and silver to Cusco, the capital of Peru, before the arrival of the Spaniards in that empire. There, likewise, issue from these mountains some rivers, whose waters are, in general, very wholesome, and contribute greatly to fertilize the province ; not to speak of those, which flow northwards ; as, for example, the *Guapay* and the *Pirapiñi*, which fall into the *Mamore*, and with the *Mamore*, as I have before taken notice, into the *Manon*. The most considerable of those, which traverse Chaco, are the *Pilco Mayo*, *Rio Salado*, and *Rio Vermejo*.

THE *Pilco Mayo* is the largest river of Chaco, and, would, alone, be sufficient to enrich this province, if it was navigable at all seasons ; but, in some places, it has too little water ; and too much, in some others. It issues from the mountains, which separate Potosi from Peru ; and it is affirmed, that a little river called *Tarapaya*, which, after watering Potosi, falls into the *Pilco Mayo*, pretty near its source, carries into it a considerable quantity of silver, which it is impossible to save, because it sinks
into

into the mud. Some miners, it is said, have calculated, that the silver thus lost in the fifty six years, from the year 1545, to 1601, amounted to no less than forty millions. It is added, that there passes so much quicksilver, by the same channel, into the Pilco Mayo, that for several leagues together no fish can live in it. The Pilco Mayo, on its leaving the *Plains of Manso*, which it traverses, divides into two branches, navigable for pretty large boats. The most northerly of these branches is almost salt, and a great deal of salt petre is found on its banks. There is no fish found in the Pilco Mayo, till it has reached Chaco; when it, likewise, begins to abound with alligators.

THE two branches of this river fall into the Paraguay; one of them, a little above the Paraguay's confluence with the Parana; and the other, a little above the Assumption, which by that means comes to be in an island, whose mean breadth is five leagues; and length, fourscore. This island is pretty low, and, consequently very marshy, to a certain distance from the separation of the two branches. In the rainy season the two branches are confounded; for they then swell to such a degree, that they meet not only each other, but even Rio Vermejo. In the tract of land subject to these inundations, there are several lakes, which never dry up. Garcilasso de la Vega tells us, that the name of Pilco Mayo, or *Pilco Mayu*, signifies, in the Quitcoane language, *River of Sparrows*; and that the *Araguay*, the most northerly of its two branches, signifies, in the Guaraní language, *River of understanding*, because it requires a great deal of precaution in those who navigate it, not to lose the main stream, and get into the lake, which communicates with it, and forms a kind of labyrinth, from which they would find it a very difficult matter to extricate themselves.

RIO SALADO enters Chaco under the name of *River of passage* ; and is, on its entrance, so rapid, as to render the navigation of it very dangerous. On its arrival at the place, where the town of Esteco formerly stood, it changes its first name into that of *Rio de Valbuena* ; and from its source to this place, which is about forty leagues, its waters are tinged of a blood colour, which disappears by degrees, as it receives the waters of other rivers. This colour is attributed to the soil of the valley of Calchaqui, into which this river flows from its spring. It is not called salt river, till its arrival in the latitude of Santiago : but authors assign no reasons for giving it this name. In fine, it takes a turn to the East, before it falls into Rio de la Plata ; and joining a little river, called *Saladillo*, forms an island pretty much in the shape of a bow, of which Rio de la Plata is the string. This bow is called *Rio de Coronda*.

RIO VERMEJO crosses Chaco from North-East to South-West ; and, as well as Rio Salado, very often changes its name. I have not been able to discover why it is called Rio Vermejo ; a name, to which Rio Solado seems to have a better title. Rio Vermejo falls into Rio de la Plata under the name of *Rio Grande*. Its stream is so gentle, that one may, in a manner, as easily ascend, as descend, it ; especially with the small southern breezes, which begin to blow here every morning at nine o'clock, and refresh the air greatly. Its waters, besides being full of fish, are deemed very salutary. They are sovereign, it is assured, against the gravel, the stone, all urinary complaints, the cholic, the gout, the dropsy, and indigestions. Most of these virtues are said to be owing to an herb, very common on its banks, called by the Spaniards *Yerva de Urina*. It is, moreover, affirmed, that those, who make their constant drink of them,

them, live to extreme old age, without sickness or wrinkles.

We must, probably, make some allowance for these commendations; but it is a constant tradition among the Spaniards, that, of all the soldiers who were employed under Don Martin Ledesma Valderanna, governor of Tucuman, from 1628 to 1635, in building the town of *Santiago de Guadalcázar*, not one died, or was even indisposed; though the turning up of the earth was alone sufficient to cause a sickness among them. It is, besides, said, that Don Estevan de Urizar, who, in 1710 and 1711, entered Chaco with some troops, as we shall see hereafter, and there, for a long time, marched along the banks of the red river, which at that side of the country is call *Rio Grande*, had no sooner made use of its waters, though he arrived there in a very bad state of health, than he got the better of all his complaints; and felt no return of them during the two campaigns he made there, though he never spared himself in the least. It is in a lake formed by this river, under the name of *Rio Grande*, that the pearls were found, which I mentioned in the first book of this history,

Most of the other rivers of Chaco are, likewise, remarkable on one account or another. There is one, for instance, whose waters are green; and it is, accordingly, called *Rio Verde*. It is impossible to tell whence they derive this colour, which does not hinder them from being very wholesome and even palatable. This river falls into the Paraguay, about sixty leagues above the Assumption. The Spaniards had built on its banks a town, called *Nueva Rioja*; but it subsisted a very short time. Another river of Chaco, called *Guayru*, which descends from the Chiriguan Cordilliere, and has its course between the Pilco Mayo and Rio Vermejo, though I cannot find it in the maps, has its waters very salt. Some of the Chaco rivers lose themselves

in the bosom of the earth, like those of Tucuman, which I have already mentioned.

THERE issues so great a number of them from the Cordilliere, that, on the thawing of the snow with which these mountains are covered, and the falling of the heavy rains, both which happen at one season, they overflow to such a degree, as to make part of Chaco look like a vast sea, which is succeeded by a great number of lakes, that never dry up, and are well stocked with fish. These inundations are so considerable, especially near the mouths of the rivers which fall into the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, and often so sudden, that the inhabitants are obliged to take to their pirogues, or climb up trees, and remain there till the waters fall, or they can find some other method of providing for their safety.

BUT these inconveniences are sufficiently compensated by the advantages flowing from the same source ; for the waters are scarce retired, when the plains they covered appear like so many grand parterres, which, viewed from the neighbouring mountains, form a prospect, that nothing, perhaps, in nature can compare with. What would it be then, if this fine country was inhabited by industrious people, well skilled in the methods of correcting the disadvantages it labours under, and making the most of the advantages providence has bestowed upon it? The present inhabitants of Chaco think they have done enough, when, after the inundations we have been speaking of, they stir the earth a little. No doubt, even without this slight labour, it furnishes them with resources for their subsistence. The best fruits grow here in abundance ; and fishing and hunting would, alone, be sufficient to support great numbers.

PART of this province is overgrown with vast forests, in some of which there is no water to be found,

found, but in the hollows of the trees, which form, as it were, so many reservoirs of a very transparent and potable water. Naturally, the heats here should be excessively intense; especially as the air is, in itself, both warm and dry; but a south wind, which blows regularly every day, tempers them greatly. In the southern district, the weather is sometimes very cold and nipping. Trees of the same kind with those of Europe are pretty scarce here; but there are others no way inferior to the best we can boast of.

On the banks of a little river, called *Sinta*, there are cedars surpassing, in height, the tallest we know of; and, near the ancient city of Gualdalcazar, which subsisted but a short time, there are whole forests of them, whose trunks measure above three fathoms, in circumference. The *Quinaquina* is very common here. It is a large tree, whose wood is red, sweet scented, and yields an odoriferous resin. The fruit is a bean, larger than those of other trees of the same species, very hard, and medicinal. There are whole forests of palm trees, from eight to twelve leagues in extent. Those, which grow on the Pilco Mayo, are as tall as the tallest cedars. The pith or heart of this tree, dressed with manrow, eats very well. The *Rival* is a tree armed all over with pretty large and very hard thorns. The leaves of it chewed are deemed sovereign in all complaints of the eyes. Its fruit is sweet and agreeable. There are two species of *Gayoc*. The most esteemed is that called by the Spaniards *Palo Santo*.

THE number of simples found in Chaco is, in a manner, infinite; and father Locano scruples not to affirm, that specifics have been discovered among them for every disorder. Perhaps, we might, without any exaggeration, say the same thing of all the inhabited and habitable countries of the globe; for,

for, surely, there can be no difficulty in believing, that the author of nature has granted every climate the simple and natural remedies, which it stands in need of. Don't we every where see animals, conducted by mere instinct, have recourse to them, in their wants, and use them with more success, than man himself? And it is the same thing with the Indians; as if this instinct, by which brutes are so well governed in all parts of the world, came to the assistance of men destitute of the resources of art; or, as if necessity rendered them more attentive to study nature, upon which art should ground all its rules and principles. In short, they make in Chaco, not only bread, but very good liquors, with several kinds of grain and other vegetable productions. But the Indians often abuse this blessing, by making their liquors too strong, and using it too freely, so as to fall into all the excesses, with which drunkenness is generally attended.

THE fur of the lions of this country is red and very long. These animals are so very gentle, or rather cowardly, that they fly at the barking of a dog, and suffer themselves to be taken, when they have not time to get into a tree. As to the tygers, besides the advantage of making the water as well as the earth contribute to their subsistence, they are as large, and at least as fierce, as those of Tucuman, but they lose all their strength on being wounded in the region of the loins. There are, in this province; six kinds of geese; all manner of tame fowl fit for the table; black and red goats as in Tucuman, and some white goats on the banks of the Pilco-Mayo; boars of two colours, grey and black, besides hares, deer, ostriches, and water wolves, the same as in the adjacent provinces.

WHAT the Spaniards call the great beast, is the *Anta* or *Danta*, of which I have already said something;

thing; for, by father Locano's account of it, that of Chaco differs a little from that of which I have already given a description, from father Montoya. This animal, father Locano tells us, has the head of a horse; the ears of a mule; and on his snout, a trump, which he stretches out when threatened; the lips of a calf; sharp teeth; a short tail; and slender feet; the fore ones cloven in two, the hinder ones in three; two stomachs, one of which serves him for a store house, where are sometimes found pieces of rotten wood; and Bezoar stones, deemed the best of any that come from America. His skin, which is covered with long brown hair, when hardened in the sun, and then dressed into buff, is impenetrable, even by musket balls. As to his flesh, it differs in nothing from beef. The hoof of the left fore foot has the same virtue with that attributed to the elke or orignal of Canada; and, accordingly, he makes the same use of it in the fits of the epilepsy, or some other such disorder, to which he is subject. We are assured, in fine, that, when he finds himself overstocked with blood, he opens one of his veins with the point of a reed; and that it is from him the Indians have learned the use of the same operation.

THE *Guanaco*, or *Huanaco*, known in England, whither two of them were brought from Buenos Ayres in the year 1723, by the name of *Wanotra*, which, it is probable, some other people of America give it, is common in Chaco, and yields Bezoar stones, that weigh three pounds and a half. The Indian, who first made the Spaniards acquainted with this animal, was for his pains, it is said, put to death by his countrymen. This animal is a kind of diminutive camel; he has nothing amiss about him but his saliva, which gives the itch, and which he casts upon his pursuers. The Guanacoes are never seen, but in flocks, unless, perhaps, in desert

fast places. When they graze thus together, one of them always stands sentry upon an eminence, to alarm the rest, by a kind of neighing; of the approach of the hunters; when they all fly to places furrounded by precipices; the females with their young ones marching before them. The flesh of the Guanaco is white; and though a little dry, tolerably well tasted.

THE other animals found in Chaco are the *Zorillo*, which does not appear to differ from the stinking beast of Canada; the *Capivara*, an amphibious creature shaped like a hog, the Indians are very fond of its flesh, as well as that of the *Otter*, which is very common in this country, and has a very fine fur; the *Iguana*, which resembles greatly that of Hispaniola; the *Quinquinchon*, which is shaped like a hog, and with his paws and his snout digs himself a hole, in the earth of between three and four feet diameter, in which he hides himself. On his back, he carries a very hard shell by way of house, into which he occasionally folds himself; and his belly is armed with scales, from which there grows very long and very thick hair. It is said, that the *Quinquinchon* sometimes lies down upon his back to receive the rain water, and remains in this posture a whole day, till some thirsty deer comes to drink out of his shell; when he immediately seizes her by the lips, and so keeps her in spite of all her endeavours, till she is stifled; when he feeds upon her. Some Englishmen presented his britannic majesty with two of these animals, alive, in the year 1728. The flesh of the *Quinquinchon* has a pretty disagreeable scent.

THERE is another species of this animal, called in Paraguay *Tatou*, and in Tucuman *Mulica*, or *Bulica*, which is, they tell us, when folded up within his shell, as round as a ball, with all the
scales

scales so curiously united, that not a single seam can be discerned between them. The Tatou has no hair. His flesh differs in nothing from that of a sucking pig. There are, likewise, some of these creatures in Brazil, and the island of Granada. In fine, there is, in the vallies leading to Chaco, a species of sheep, called *Llamaez*, which one would take for little camels, had they any lump on their backs. The Indians make use of them to carry burthens, though their march is so slow, that it is impossible to make them travel more than three leagues a day; and, if once they lie down with weariness, they permit themselves to be killed rather than get up again with their burthen.

SOME authors have affirmed, that Chaco does not produce any venomous animals. Yet it is certain, that several have been found there; but then antidotes are still more common. The most sovereign are viper's herb; and the contrayerva, both male and female. Father Locano imagines, that the viper's herb is the *Trissago* of Dioscorides. The other antidotes are the *Colmillu de Vibora*, or the *Solimon dela Tioffa*; tobacco leaves; the stalk and ear of Maiz; the shank bone of a cow, broiled and applied to the wound, from which it falls of itself, when it has imbibed all the venom. The efficacy of this bone is greatly encreased by bathing it in milk and wine.

It would be very surprizing, if, in so fine a country, there were no bees. The forests are all so full of them, that, in several, there is scarce a single tree without a colony of these precious insects; so that, though the wasps carry on a constant and cruel war against them, this province alone could supply great part of America with wax and honey, of a superior kind to those of any other country we know of. Authors say nothing of the birds of Chaco, which, probably,

are the same with those in the adjacent provinces. The silence of historians, in regard to their notes, leaves room to believe, that here, as well as in every other part of the new world, this tribe of the animal creation does not charm the ears with its music, as much as it does the eyes by the vivacity and variety of its plumage.

To judge by the number of the nations in Chaco, of which father Locano gives us a list, one would be apt to conclude, that there is not a better inhabited country in the whole world. It is, indeed, more so, than any of those which surround it, though very far from being as much so, as it ought to be, considering the fertility of its soil and the mildness of its climate; for, taking the nations inhabiting it one with another, there is not one of them numerous enough to form above three or four middling towns. This, after all, is not so surprizing, as, at first sight, it may appear to be. Experience sufficiently demonstrates, that the countries most favoured by nature are not always those, in which the human species multiplies fastest. The reason of this singularity is, no doubt; that the facility of living, in such countries, with very little or no labour, renders men more idle and improvident; and more lawless; and, of course, more vicious, than they otherwise would be; whence it happens, that impatient of restraint, and giving way to their passions in every thing, they become wild and barbarous; keep up no society with each other; and fall into greater excesses, of drunkenness especially, from whence proceed quarrels and wars, by which more men perish, than can possibly be born. And, accordingly, such nations dwindle away in the most sensible manner.

BESIDES, a tradition of no very ancient date in this part of South America informs us, that the
epidemical

epidemical distempers occasioned by the corruption of the air in the neighbouring countries, in Tucuman especially, having driven, from time to time, abundance of their inhabitants into this province, they brought with them contagions, with which the country, might otherwise, never have been visited. For as to the Peruvians, whom the tyranny of their spanish masters drove into Chaco, in greater numbers than into any other of the neighbouring countries; the transmigration of them could not but be attended with the loss of a multitude of people. Besides, the wandering life, which these fugitives must have led for a long time before they settled, was by no means favourable to their multiplication.

NOTHING proves better the strange medley of nations in Chaco, than the difference in their manners and customs. It is true they resemble each other in a great many things, but this resemblance is the necessary consequence of such connections, as they cannot avoid having with each other; especially in defence of their liberty against the Spaniards, who surround them on all sides, and whom the beauty of this country, and the desire of freeing themselves from such troublesome neighbours, have engaged in the greatest and most constant efforts to subdue them. Though I did not propose to enter into a minute detail of what particularly distinguishes them from one another, but as occasion offered, I cannot prevail on myself to go any further, without relating what father Locano tells of two of these nations; it being so singular, that I should not dare to mention it on any other testimony but that of this missionary, who, though he owns he had never seen them himself, adds, that he has all the proofs that can be reasonably expected of their existence.

THE first of these nations is the *Collus* or *Colluges*; and, in the Quitchoane language, *Suripchaquins*, which signifies ostrich-feet. They have been called thus, because their legs have no calf, and their feet, all to the heels, resemble those of the ostrich. They are of an almost gigantic stature; so swift footed, that no horse can keep up with them; and so very warlike, that, without any arms but lances, they have almost extirpated a nation called the *Polomas*, that was formerly very numerous. The second of these nations have nothing monstrous but their stature, which is still higher than that of the *Colluges*. What father Locano says of them is extracted from two letters of father Gaspard Osorio, who preached the gospel to these Indians, and whose glorious martyrdom we shall relate hereafter; one to father Francis Truxillo, his provincial; the other to father Mutio Vetelleschi, his general.

FATHER Osorio does not name them, but just says, that he met them on the little river of Tarija, pretty near the spot, where stood the town of Guadalcazar, which I have already mentioned. After saying, that, with his hand raised to its utmost stretch, he could not reach the heads of these Indians; he adds, that what surprized him still more was the delicacy and luxuriancy of their language, the nobleness of their sentiments, the politeness of their manners, the sprightliness of their genius, the penetration of their understanding, the modesty of their behaviour, the prudence of their conduct, and their great bravery.

IN general, the inhabitants of Chaco are all of an advantageous stature; and there have been found men among them above seven feet high. Their features differ greatly from ours; and the colours, with which they paint themselves, give
them

them an aspect, with which strangers cannot, at first sight, help being terrified a little. And, accordingly, they pretend by this means to strike a terror into their enemies. A Spanish captain, who had served with reputation in Europe, having been commanded against some Indians of Chaco, that lived pretty near Santafé, was so thunder-struck with their appearance, that he fainted away. Most of the men go quite naked, all to a parcel of feathers, of different colours, hanging to a string about their waste. But, at their publick solemnities, they wear caps made of the same feathers. In very cold weather, they wrap themselves up in a kind of cap and cloak made of skins pretty well dressed, and adorned with painted figures. Among some nations, the women are not better covered than the men.

THE bad qualities common to all these people are ferocity, inconstancy, perfidy, and drunkenness. They are all sprightly, though very dull of apprehension in every thing that does not fall immediately under the senses. There is, properly speaking, no form of government among them; every town, indeed, has its Cacique; but these chiefs have no authority, but in proportion to the esteem they have acquired. Several do nothing but rove from place to place with their furniture, which consists of nothing but a mat, a hammock, and a calabash. The cabins of those, who live in towns, are, among several nations, no better than wretched hovels made with branches of trees, and covered with straw or rather grass. Those who live nearest to Tucuman are, it seems, better lodged and better clothed.

THEIR favourite liquor is the *Cbica*, of which I have already made mention. They assemble to drink it, and to dance and sing; and in these exercises they persist, till they are all drunk. They

then quarrel ; and from words soon proceed to blows, so that their merry makings seldom terminate without blood-shed, if not in the death of some of the guests. Several take advantage of the confusion to be revenged of their enemies. These excesses are almost peculiar to the men. The women, generally, withdraw, the moment they perceive the liquor begins to get the better of the men, and carry off with them all the arms they can lay their hands upon. A small matter is sufficient to breed a war between these nations ; but their unconquerable inveteracy against the Spaniards easily unites them again, on the first alarm from that quarter.

ALMOST all these Indians are antropophagous, or men-eaters ; have no other occupation but war and pillage, which they exercise with such craft and obstinacy, that they have rendered themselves formidable to their neighbours, particularly the Spaniards, who don't chuse to engage them, even when surprized, with equal arms ; their courage, in that case, changing to fury. Nay, many of their women have been known, on such occasions, to sell their lives at a very dear rate, rather than surrender to the best armed soldiers. When once they have resolved to plunder a country seat, or village, there is no art they don't practice to lull the inhabitants into a fatal security, or get out of their way when they have struck their blow. They will watch, for whole years, the opportunity of surprizing them without running any risk. For this purpose, they have always spies abroad who never march but by night ; when they make nothing of crawling along, if requisite, on their elbows, which, for this reason, are always covered with a callus. Some Spaniards have been weak enough to think, that these spies, by some magic power, assumed the forms

forms of domestic animals, in order to examine what was doing in their houses.

THEIR arms are bows and arrows; the *mancana*; and a kind of a well wrought lance or javelin, made of a very hard and very heavy wood, pretty thick, fifteen palms long, and terminating in a deer's horn, with a beard to it. This weapon they use with great strength and dexterity; and by means of a rope to which it is fastened, draw in the man it has wounded, unless he has resolution enough to pull it out. They generally saw the necks of their prisoners with the jaw bone of a fish; and then pull off his scalp, which they preserve as a monument of their victory, and display in all their entertainments.

THEY are such bold and able horsemen, that the Spaniards will repent, but once, their having so well stocked with horses all these parts of the continent. Swift as these animals are, the Indians of Chaco stop them in full speed; and vault upon them, no matter whether sideways or from behind, without any assistance but that of their javelins, upon which they spring. They then, without stirrups or bridles, without any thing, in short, but a halter, not only keep their seat, but turn the proud animal which way they please, and make him fly at such a rate, as to leave behind them the best mounted Spaniards. As most of them go always naked, their skin is very hard. Father Locano assures us, he has seen the head of a *Mocovi*, the skin of which was half an inch thick.

THE women of Chaco prick their faces breasts and arms, like the Moorish women of Africa and Spain; they are very robust; bring forth with great ease; and, as soon as delivered, bathe themselves and their children in the next lake or river. They are treated by their husbands with great severity,

verity, because, perhaps, they are very much addicted to jealousy, and have no manner of tenderness for their children. They bury their dead on the very spot where they expire; and plant a javelin over the grave, fastening to it the skull of an enemy, especially of a Spaniard, if they can get one. They then remove from the place; and even avoid passing by it, till the deceased is totally forgotten.

THE greatest obstacles the Spaniards have met with in reducing the Indians of Chaco, and the missionaries in converting them, have been thrown in their way by the *Chiriguones*, a nation scattered over several districts of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, las Charcas, and Chaco; and the most inveterate enemies of the Spaniards in this part of the world. For, though they have lately had allies among them, who proved very serviceable, they can never depend upon their assistance, but in proportion to their ability to command it; and this is no easy task. There is not, in all the southern parts of America, a prouder, more treacherous, inconstant, flinty hearted nation, than the *Chiriguones*; which, joined to their well founded apprehensions of becoming slaves to the Spaniards by submitting to the gospel, would be sufficient to make the missionaries lose all hopes of ever reclaiming them, if they could think it lawful ever to despair of God's mercy.

By following the course of the red river, and turning towards the east, we meet with several nations, who are tolerably peaceable, and attack nobody, though they all immediately unite for their common defence, as soon as any one of them is attacked. According to some, these nations received baptism soon after the arrival of the first Spaniards in this country; and then, on being persecuted by them, removed to a greater distance.

They

They till the ground, and rear cattle; and there even prevail among them some of the practices of christianity, especially that of prayer for which their Caciques assemble them from time to time. In 1710, Don Estevan de Urizar concluded a treaty with them; and they preserve the original draft of it to this day, as the palladium of their liberty against the Spaniards. One of the conditions of this treaty was, that missionaries should be sent to them but it has not been as yet possible to comply with it.

DON ANDREAS HURTADO DE MENDOZA, marquis of Cannette, and viceroy of Peru, was the first to attempt the reduction of Chaco. In 1556, he sent there, for this purpose, captain Andreas Manfo, whom I have already mentioned, and who had served with honour in the Peruvian wars. This officer advanced, without meeting any resistance, as far as the extensive plains between the Pilco Mayo and the red river; and had even began to build a town. But, one night, when, being no longer under any apprehensions from the natives, he and his men were buried in sleep without any centinels to guard the avenues to their camp, a party of the Chiriguones rushed into it, and murdered every soul of them. These plains have ever since been called the plains of Manfo.

THE town of Santafé, the foundation of which I have already related, was originally considered as a town of Chaco, because it stood on the west banks of Rio de la Plata, to which several extend this province; but, having been removed since, it is now at too great a distance from the bounds which father Locano gives Chaco at that side. Another town was built in Chaco, under the name of the *Conception*, on the banks of the red river, or rather a marsh formed by this river, thirty leagues above its fall into Rio de la Plata; but
this

this town could scarce maintain itself in its primitive mediocrity for the space of sixty years; and even the ruins of it are now no longer discernible. There can be no stronger proof of the weakness of the Spaniards in Paraguay, than their not having been able to keep up this establishment, which formed so fine a key into the heart of Chaco. In short, it is with difficulty they now point out the spot, where stood the town of Guadalcázar that I have already mentioned, and which, likewise, they have been obliged to abandon.

FATHER LOCANO tells us, that, while Don Martin de Ledesma was building this town, he could never penetrate as far as the *Chicas Orejones*, or the *Churumacas*, who lived to the west, in the valleys at the foot of the Cordillieré, though he could plainly discover the smoke of their villages, which could not, therefore, be more than ten or twelve leagues from his camp; the guide, he had often employed to conduct a strong party there, having constantly led them astray; that having, one day, convicted him of his treachery, and bitterly reproached him with it, the fellow answered, that it was as much as his life was worth to shew the Spaniards the way to these villages: "But how comes it, said Don Martin, that these people are so averse to our paying them a visit? for fear, answered the guide, that, if you once knew the road to them, you should put them all to death as your predecessors did the Inca, in order to seize on his mines and his empire." The spy added, that the *Chicas Orejones* were those, whom the Incas employed to work their mines, and secure the Cordilliere; and that, having heard the tragical end of the last Inca, they immediately took refuge among the *Churumacas*, who gave them a very favourable reception. Father Locano, likewise, informs us, that the same *Chicas Orejones* were descended from

from the noble Orejones of Peru, whom the Incas made use of to extend their conquests.

BUT let the Spaniards use what endeavours they will to reduce Chaco, they never will be able to effect it, till the inhabitants have submitted to the gospel; a thing impossible, as long as they abuse a favour granted them by their catholic majesties; and which it is hardly to be expected they should ever cease to abuse, since all the power of these princes has not as yet been able to effect it, though it has occasioned the death or desertion of a great many new christians, and formed an invincible obstacle to the conversion of an infinite number of infidels. It is, therefore, necessary I should explain the nature of this favour, before I reassume the thread of my narration.

THE Spaniards, it seems, had parcelled out all the Indians, whom they had reduced by force or by fair means, into *Departments* or *Commandes*. These *commandes* were granted to private persons for a certain number of years, more or less, according to the rank or services of such persons. This term expired, they devolved to the crown; and the governor of the province, in virtue of a power received for that purpose from the sovereign, either employed such devolved Indians, when requisite, in the public works, or made them over to other private persons, so that every adventurer partook in his turn of their service. This service consisted in their working for him for nothing, two months in the year, and paying him, out of what they could earn during the other ten months, a tribute of five pieces of eight, from which those under eighteen, and above forty, were exempted. The fifth of this tribute was to be paid the parish priest for his salary. In return for this service, those who enjoyed it, called, in the spanish, *Encomenderos*, were to provide their Indians with every

every thing they wanted ; to see that they were instructed in the principles and practice of the christian religion ; to use them well and treat them like children ; for, in many respects, these Indians continue children during their whole lives.

BUT, as Charles V. foresaw, that these regulations, alone, would never be sufficient to protect the Indians against the exactions of their encomenderos, he ordered that officers should be named to receive their complaints, and do them justice ; with power to deprive of their departments those, who should be convicted of having made an ill use of them. But the wisest precautions, and the severest laws, are a very weak barrier against avarice ; especially where the absence of the sovereign, and the facility of gaining over those he has charged with the execution of his orders, afford any hopes of impunity ; a truth rendered but too evident by the fate of these commandes ; for no laws could be more wisely devised or worse executed, than those made to regulate them.

YET, all might have found their advantage in complying with these laws. The Indians might have been civilized, and contracted an affection to masters who treated them as children ; the king might have gained loyal subjects ; and the encomenderos useful servants ; as will hereafter appear evident beyond the power of contradiction. The church, too, might have acquired docile children. I may even affirm, without indulging conjecture too much, that all the inhabitants of this part of America would be at this day christians, if those in place had concurred with the missionaries, in endeavouring to make them relish the maxims of the gospel. Whereas, considering the manner in which they were treated, it is no way surprizing, that the greatest number of those who embraced the christian religion should have afterwards

wards renounced it, as their encomenderos or their substitutes scarce ever gave them time to learn, or opportunity to observe, its precepts; and were still more backward in giving them that good example, and treating them with that lenity, which was necessary to confirm what the missionaries said to them of the mildness and holiness of the gospel. It is, therefore, no way strange, that as many of them, as possibly could, have shaken off the yoke, and are since become the most dangerous enemies of their wicked and foolish task-masters.

It is, likewise, certain, that in consequence of the services exacted from these slaves, for they are very seldom treated otherwise, their masters have contracted such a habit of laziness, that, as often as these poor creatures sink under the weight of fatigue and ill usage, or desert to avoid it, they fall into a state of indigence, which they know not either to bear or to mend. The daily examples of this misfortune are so far from making any impression upon the Spaniards, that the abuse of the departments has been constantly on the increase, and is at last become so obstinate, that the most precise and reiterated orders of the kings of Spain have not been able to put a stop to it. Nay, disobedience to the orders of the sovereign has been construed into a prescription; and it will plainly appear in the course of this history, that all the persecutions excited against the Jesuits of Paraguay; all the calumnies propagated against them; and all the prejudices these calumnies have left behind them in the minds of so many persons; are intirely owing to the unshaken resolution of these fathers, in opposing every attempt to rob the Indians under their care, of the total exemption granted them by the kings of Spain, from all manner of personal service to the Spaniards.

B O O K IV.

Port of Buenos Ayres reestablished. Description of it, and the neighbourhood. State of christianity in Paraguay. Jesuits enter it. Their labours to reclaim the Spaniards and civilize and convert the Indians. Description of the province of Guayra. The Jesuits preach the gospel there with great success. Towns built. Jesuits gain establishments in several places; incur the displeasure of the Spaniards, by endeavouring to protect the Indians against them in the enjoyment of their liberty.

1580-81. **T**HE frequent loss of ships coming from Spain, for want of a sure port to receive them at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, having, at last, made the Spaniards thoroughly sensible of the necessity of having one; and the rebeing no room left for choice; a resolution was taken to reestablish that of Buenos Ayres on the same spot, where Mendoza had, at first, placed it; but under the name of *the Trinity*, instead of its original one of *our lady of Buenos Ayres*; and omit nothing to secure it against any future attacks of the Indians in its neighbourhood. This was become the easier on account of the new establishments formed in the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and Tucuman, capable of furnishing succours to awe these barbarians. However, the Spaniards no
 sooner

sooner set about the work, than the Indians prepared to attack them; but the adelantado, who had brought along with him some troops, and a great quantity of military stores, sent against them Juan de Garay, who, after chastising them severely in several rencounters, obliged them to remain quiet. The city was rebuilt on the same spot where Don Pedro de Mendoza, at first, placed it; but its first name, of *our lady*, was changed into that of *the trinity of Buenos Ayres*.

THIS city remained, for a long time, in a state of poverty answerable to that of the province, of which it was both the key and the centre of commerce. I have already observed, that it is situated on the western banks of Río de la Plata, about two hundred miles from cape St. Mary, on a somewhat elevated point of land that runs into the river in a North direction; and in thirty five degrees thirty minutes South latitude, according to the latest observations. The city is separated by a rivulet from the fortress, where the governor resides. It is pretty large; and, for a long time, consisted of different quarters, with fields and orchards between them, though the houses, which for the most part were built of earth, consisted of but one story disposed round an oblong court; and, consequently took up the more room. Many of them received no day-light, but by their doors. The rest had but one window. But a lay brother jesuit, called to this place about forty or fifty years ago to build the church of the college, having made bricks, and tiles, and lime, instructed the inhabitants in these useful arts, so that all the houses built since that time are of stone or brick; and some of them two stories high.

Two other lay brother jesuits, one a good architect, and the other a good mason, and both from Italy, after finishing the college church, built that
of

the fathers of Mercy, and the franciscans, and the front of the cathedral; all which, it is pretended, might make a figure in the best cities of Spain. The magistrates had, likewise, engaged them to build a town house, but, having set out on too magnificent a plan for their funds, they found themselves unable to accomplish it. The city, however, soon began to wear another aspect, in consequence of these and other improvements; so that it is no wonder, if the travellers, who have visited it since the period we are speaking of, give us a much more favourable idea of it, than those who passed this way before them.

At this period, the inhabitants were computed at sixteen thousand souls; one fourth whites; and the rest negroes, Indians, and a mixt breed. It is by the labour of these negroes, who are by far the greatest number, that the Spaniards live; for the Spaniards, here think it beneath them to exercise any manual employment. Those even, who are but just landed from Spain, put every stitch they have brought with them upon their backs; and set up for gentlemen, above serving in any menial capacity. It is almost equally difficult to get any good from the free Indians, who pass and repass through this town, the adjacent villages and country seats; and this their aversion to labour is owing to their having been overburthened with it, when included in the commandes and subject to personal service. The cathedral is the parish church of the white inhabitants; the rest have one, at one of the extremities of the city.

BUENOS AYRES, in consequence of its situation and its wholesome air, enjoys every advantage requisite to make a flourishing city; and will, no doubt, flourish in proportion as Paraguay, which has no other port, becomes populous and the inhabitants of it laborious. Winter begins here in the month of June; spring

spring, in the month of September ; summer, in December ; and autumn, in March ; and these four seasons succeed each other very regularly. In winter, the rains are heavy, and attended with such terrible thunder and lightening, that there is no such thing as accustoming one self to it. The heat of the sun in summer is qualified by gentle breezes, which rise regularly between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. One third of the houses have a prospect over an extensive country clothed with a perpetual verdure ; the other two thirds look over the river, which, to the North, appears like a great sea, terminated only by the horizon. Fish is here in great abundance, especially that which the Spaniards call *Pesche Reyes*, being a kind of Gurnard very common on the coasts of Chili.

THE fertility of the lands in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres is equal to the goodness of its air, so that, in these respects, nature has done every thing, to render it a most delightful place to live in. The country about it, however, has a naked look, the Spaniards having neglected to plant any trees in it. But, except in point of prospect, this deficiency is little felt ; as all the islands, with which the river is enameled at this place, are exceedingly well wooded. The only fruit-tree found in them is the peach tree ; which, besides producing excellent fruit, is so common, that they use its branches for the most common purposes. The vine has not, as yet, answered, for want of a method to destroy a kind of ants, which fall upon it the minute it begins to shoot, and gnaw it to the very root.

BUT the chief want, which not only Buenos Ayres, but every other part of that vast country generally comprehended under the name of Paraguay, for a long time laboured under, was that of men qualified to maintain the ancient Chris-

tians in the regular exercise of their religion, as well as to draw the infidels over to it. We have seen, that the Emperor Charles V. had recommended nothing more earnestly to the governors he sent here, than that they should take with them some priests, both secular and regular; and supply them with every thing that could facilitate the execution of their office. Philip II, his son and successor to the throne of Spain, took the same precautions; and the missionaries, the first of whom were of the order of St. Francis, omitted nothing to shew themselves worthy of the confidence placed in them by these two great princes. But, though they baptised a great number of Indians, the frequent revolts of these people, whom the Spaniards did not always treat with sufficient mildness, and the troubles, which almost constantly prevailed amongst the Spaniards themselves, for the first sixty years after their arrival, proved a great obstacle to the propagation of the gospel.

TUCUMAN was, at first, much happier in this respect; for the Spaniards had scarce begun to settle in it, when Saint Francis Solano, and a great many other missionaries of his order, entered it on the side of Peru; visited every part of it; and even penetrated very far into Chaco; scattering every where the seed of the gospel, with all the success which might naturally be expected from men headed by a saint, whose zeal knew no bounds; and whom God invested with the gift of miracles, to such a degree, that the inhabitants considered him as something more than a mortal being. But, as he was soon called back to Peru by his superiors, his mission turned out like one of those transitory clouds, which fertilize, for a time, the driest fields upon which they fall, and then leave them to relapse into their former sterility. Father Lewis de Bolanos, one of Saint Francis Solano's disciples,
and

and who, likewise, died in the odour of sanctity, founded, among the Guaranis of Paraguay, a fervent colony of christians, which he governed for a long time. He even translated into their language a catechism, which I shall hereafter have some occasion to mention; but, his superiors having at last thought proper to recall him on account of his great age and infirmities, the little flock he had brought together, and with whom, it is probable, he could leave no pastor of his own order, fell afterwards into the hands of the jesuits; and, has since proved the germ, as it were, of these flourishing churches of the Parana and the Uruguay, whose happy progress we shall soon have occasion to consider. The good old man having heard of this happy event, a little before his death, it made him forget the great affliction he had long laboured under at the thoughts of having been obliged to abandon his dear children, whom he had engendered in Jesus Christ.

Thus, therefore, the christian religion was the thing in these provinces, which stood most in need of powerful assistance. The secular clergy were too few for the Spaniards alone, with whom they were entirely taken up. The regulars, fewer in themselves, were still more so, in proportion to the subjected Indians committed to their care, whom, besides, the bad example and cruelty of their encomenderoes made it almost impossible to inspire with any relish for the great truths of the gospel. In short, the bishops of Paraguay and Tucuman were often reduced to the melancholy necessity of applying, in the strongest terms, to the kings of Spain, and their council of the Indies, for spiritual labourers to assist them in the discharge of their duty.

TUCUMAN, especially, stood in the greatest need of such succours. Many towns in it had not so

much as a single clergyman. The children grew up without any instruction, and very often the sick left the world without any spiritual assistance. Don Francis Victoria, of the order of Saint Dominic, bishop of this diocese, which he governed for twelve years, did not find, on his arrival in it, a single secular priest, and scarce any regulars, who could make the Indians understand them; so that he found himself, to his infinite sorrow, obliged to lay aside all thoughts of converting them. The jesuits now began to be known in America; they had been, even upwards of thirty years, in Brazil, which father Joseph Anchieta had filled with the odour of his holiness, and the splendor of his miracles. They had, likewise settled in Peru; and had already made in both these kingdoms an infinite number of conversions; so that every one published, that this new order, whose founder was born at the time Christopher Columbus began to discover the new world, had received from heaven a special mission, and a particular grace, to establish in it the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

THIS consideration having determined the bishop of Tucuman to get, cost what it would, as many jesuits as possible, into his diocese, he wrote, at the same time, to father Anchieta, and Father John Atienza, both provincials of their company; the first, in Brazil; and the second, in Peru; conjuring them, by the entrails of Jesus Christ, not to refuse him the assistance he so much wanted. Upon this, father Atienza, the nearest of the two, and most at hand to give him speedy succours, immediately sent orders to father Francis Angulo, and father Alphonso Barsena, then employed in the province of las Charcas, to repair immediately to Tucuman, with a lay brother, called John Villegas, who was to serve them in quality of catechist.

THESE

1586. These fathers set out, the minute they received their provincial's letter; and arrived, in 1586, at Salta, where a single priest had not been seen for four years that this town had been built. They were, therefore, received in it as angels descended from heaven. The inhabitants, even the most licentious, had not, as yet, stifled the remorse of their conscience, whose cries redoubled at the sight of these apostolic men, and grew still higher and higher, when they had heard them speak. They all confessed their sins; and then repaired to the holy mysteries, the privation of which had been the principal cause of all their libertinism. The fathers had equal reason to be satisfied with the Indians, whose language they pretty well understood, so that it was with the utmost regret they saw themselves obliged to leave a place, where there appeared so fine a field to exercise their zeal, and so great a prospect of its being attended with lasting success. But they were, it seems, impatiently expected at Santiago. Having taken their road to it, by Esteco, fifty leagues at this side of it, they there found the same call for their assistance, and the same dispositions to benefit by it, as well in the Spaniards as in the Indians, many of whom had been baptised by Saint Francis Solano. However, they remained in Esteco, but a month, having received a letter from the bishop, which obliged them to set out directly for Santiago.

DON JUAN RAMIREZ DE VELASCO, governor of Tucuman, was no less impatient to see them than Don Francis Victoria. As soon, therefore, as he had notice of their approach, he went out, on horseback, with the nobility and officers of the garrison, to meet them. The inhabitants strewed with flowers, and adorned with triumphal arches, the streets through which they were to pass. The bishop, who had ordered a solemn thanksgiving for their

happy arrival, embraced them tenderly, with tears in his eyes ; and, seeing them fall prostrate at his feet, to implore his blessing, took them up ; conducted them, in procession, to the cathedral ; complimented them there in terms, which greatly shocked their modesty ; gave out the *Te deum*, which was sung by his clergy ; and, afterwards, led them to his own house, where he insisted upon lodging them. If apostolic men sometimes find themselves in circumstances, in which the great master who sends them thinks proper they should be received like his ministers ; he oftener gives them occasion to consider themselves as his disciples ; so as to make them remember all the ignominies of his passion, which so soon succeeded his triumphant entry into Jerusalem. This the jesuits who first entered Paraguay and their successors have never lost sight of ; and they have found their advantage in it.

SANTIAGO, at this time, contained five hundred families ; and the country about it, which is very delightful, besides being well peopled with Indians, was every day filling with new Spanish settlements. Yet, the bishop had but five secular, and a few regular, priests, that he could depend upon ; so that he saw himself constantly obliged to go through the most laborious part of the church duty, though he often sunk under the burden of it. Here, therefore, the new missionaries found ample matter to employ their zeal. Though they could not but consider themselves as more particularly sent to the Indians, they thought it their duty to do something, first, for the Spaniards ; as, besides their being domestics of the faith, example could not but greatly hasten or retard the progress of their operations among the Neophytes and the Infidels. They divided their whole time between preaching, hearing confessions ; visiting the sick ; and private conferences ; borrowing from their sleep what was

requisite for the saying of their breviary and other exercises of devotion. The Spaniards listened to them with such respect; and applied to them with such confidence; that the place soon wore a different aspect; the streets and houses resounding both day and night, with spiritual canticles. The bishop contributed so zealously to the success of their labours, not only by precept but example, that the joy with which his heart overflowed could alone, support him under so many fatigues.

THE Indians had next their turn. Father Angulo was perfect master of the Quitchoane language, current among them; and Father Barsena had learned that, which was peculiar to them; so that both were in a condition to be understood by them all. The respect and confidence, of which the Spaniards gave them the sincerest demonstrations, inspired the natives with such an opinion of them, that they all flocked about them in crowds, whose holy importunities the missionaries themselves were surprized at their being able to answer. After some time spent in this manner, father Angulo thought proper, that Father Barsena should return to Esteco, with a secular priest named to the parish of that place, in order to assist him; and, likewise, begin a mission among the Indians of its district, who lived in fifty hamlets, at a considerable distance one from the other, and separated by mountains and marshes, which rendered the communication between them very disagreeable and difficult.

AN apostate and vagabond monk had appeared, some time before, among these Indians; and, though he did not know a single word of their language, had baptised a great number of them, who thus became christians, without knowing what christianity was; and profaned the holiness of the character they had received, by continuing to practise their ancient superstitions, and follow the bent of their

brutal appetites. These the missionary thought best intitled to his first labours ; and, in the space of nine months that he spent in visiting their hamlets with brother Villegas, he not only made true christians of them, but added to their number between six and seven thousand well instructed and very fervent Neophytes. He flattered himself with being able to extend his spiritual conquests still further, when the bishop called him back to Santiago, in order to send him, with Father Angulo, to Corduba, where they met with such success amongst the Spaniards of the town, and Indians of the neighbourhood, as surpassed their own hopes and those of the prelate.

In the mean time, a reinforcement of Jesuits arrived at Corduba from Brazil. It consisted of the Fathers, Leonard Armenio, an Italian ; Juan Salonio, of Valencia in Spain ; Thomas Filds, a Scotchman ; Stephen de Grao, a Portuguese ; and Emmanuel de Ortega, another Portuguese trained up to an apostolic life under the famous Father Anchieta. Father Armenio, the superior of them, on his arrival at Corduba, represented to the missionaries he found there contrary to his expectation, that, as Tucuman could be more easily supplied with missionaries from Peru, than from Brazil, where, besides, there was more work, than Portugal could supply a sufficient number of labourers for ; and, as this mixture of Spanish and Portuguese missions would not, perhaps, be approved by the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, though these two kingdoms were united under one sovereign, he was resolved to return to Brazil, but without obliging any body to follow him ; and, accordingly, Father de Grao was the only person, who did not chuse to separate from him. Father Ortega remained at Corduba, with Father Barsena ; and Father Angulo took Father Salonio and Father Filds with him to Santiago,

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1588. WHEN Don Jerom Lewis de Cabrera founded the city of Corduba, there were no less than forty thousand Indians in the district he assigned it; but this number soon began to lessen. The Spaniards behaved with so much barbarity towards these unhappy creatures, whom fear alone had brought under subjection to them, that many perished with grief and fatigue; and many more deserted. The shortest way to retain those who remained, and make them wish to be instructed in the mysteries of the christian religion, was by gentleness and by presents; so that the poverty of the two missionaries, not permitting them to use the latter, they were obliged to employ an extraordinary degree of the former.

SEVERAL infidels had been, likewise, baptised in this country, without any previous instruction. The Spaniards would fain appear zealous to propagate the gospel, while they were really doing all that lay in their power to stop its progress. The first thing, therefore, the missionaries did, was to convince the Neophytes of what their masters should have begun by telling them, that we must not judge of the christian religion by the conduct of those who profess it; and in this they succeeded beyond their expectation, so that, in less than six months, all the neighbourhood of Corduba was peopled with catechumens.

AFTER some other excursions made by the new missionaries, which, joined to their former labours, ingratiated them so much with Don Francis Victoria, that he appointed Father Barsena his vicar general, with an unlimited power. The Fathers, Solanio, de Ortega, and Filds, repaired to the Assumption, at the request of the bishop of that place; were received there with the same honours that had been paid to Father Barsena and Father Angulo at Santiago; and exerted themselves equally to the advantage

age of both Spaniards and natives ; so that, in the space of three months, neither were to be known for the same men. They then turned their views upon the eastern Guayra. But, as it was not proper they should all leave the capital together, Father Salonio continued in it, whilst the two others embarked on the Paraguay for that country.

AFTER sailing for some time on the Paraguay, they landed on the right shore, and travelled, a foot, one hundred and fifty leagues before they reached its nearest towns. This country, probably, derives its name from that of the Guaranis who inhabit it, they being often called Guayranis.

THESE Indians lived in towns, that were pretty populous, and the Caciques of which, by being hereditary, and independent one on the other, had a great deal of authority over their subjects. Sometimes, however, as it happens in all nations more addicted to the arts of war than those of peace, private persons acquired this rank by their valour ; and not seldom by a singular facility in speaking well the language of the country, which, according to Father Montoya, who was perfect master of it, yields, in nothing, to any of the finest we are acquainted with. The chief prerogatives enjoyed by the Caciques consisted in a right to the labour of their subjects, for the purposes of agriculture ; and the use of their daughters when they required it.

At the death of a Cacique, it was lawful for one of his brothers to marry the widow ; but this seldom happened. In general, these Indians did not approve such marriages between near relations ; and the men among them, who have embraced the christian religion, never marry any of their relations, even within those degrees with which the Church readily dispenses. But the Caciques could have more wives than one. As to their religion, they

they acknowledge but one God ; for if they expressed any veneration for the bones of their jugglers whom they had seen perform such things in their life time, as, in their opinion, surpassed the strength of nature, they by no means considered them as divinities, though the species of worship they paid them, differed but little from that, which other nations pay their idols. They never, however, offered any sacrifices to God, nor could any regular form of worship be discovered among them.

THEY reckoned their years by winters, but seldom went beyond ten without committing a mistake. They judged of its being time to rise when the pleiades began to make their appearance above the horizon. They imagined there was a tiger and a great dog in the heavens, which devoured the moon and the sun, as often as these luminaries happened to be eclipsed ; and such events greatly alarmed them. The husbands, on their wives being brought to bed, observed, for the space of fifteen days, a rigorous fast ; and neither hunted nor conversed with any one during that time, firmly believing, that the child's life depended on their punctual complying with this custom. They used a kind of baptism ; but authors have not given us any satisfactory account of it. But the ceremonies they observed, in giving names to their new born children, will best serve to give us a just idea of the savageness of this nation. Thinking it unlawful to perform this ceremony, without the death of a prisoner of war, they deferred it till they could make one. After entertaining him plentifully for several days, and even giving him his choice of as many young girls or grown up women as he thought proper, they cut his throat on the day appointed for that purpose, with great ceremony. As soon as he was dead, every one touched his
body

body, or struck it with a stick ; and during, this operation, they gave names to all the children that had not as yet received any. This done, the body was cut up ; and every family took home a piece of it to make into broth, of which every one took a mouthful, not excepting children at the breast, whom their mothers took care to make partakers of this hellish repast.

THEIR manner of receiving persons returned from a long journey had something very odd in it. The traveller, on entering his cabin, immediately seated himself, without uttering a single syllable ; and, the next moment, the women began to walk round and round him, observing, all the time, the same silence, till, at last, they suddenly burst out into exclamations, which were followed by a long relation of all the disagreeable events that had happened in his family during his absence ; the men, covering their faces, repeated the same things with a low voice ; and this ceremony lasted a longer or shorter time in proportion to the esteem they had for the traveller. At last, they all congratulated him on his happy arrival, and entertained him in the best manner they were able.

THE women, on the death of their husbands, used to throw themselves from some eminence high enough to cripple them for the remainder of their lives. The Indians believed, that the soul, on its leaving the body, never wandered at any great distance from it, but kept it company in the grave, where they, accordingly, left a vacancy for it to reside in. The first who embraced the gospel could scarce be prevailed upon to renounce this practice ; and christian women have been pretty often discovered going privately to the graves of their children or husbands, in order to sift the mould over them, as their souls, they said, would be too much burthened without this precaution.

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WHEN a girl was old enough to be married, they put her into the hands of a woman, who, for eight days together, employed her in the most laborious tasks; fed her very ill; and, withal, never gave her a moment's rest. By her manner of bearing this trial, they judged if she was laborious, and otherwise qualified to undertake the care of a family. At the expiration of this term, they cut off her hair; decked her out with all the ornaments the sex is so fond of; and declared her marriageable. It would have been criminal in a young woman to keep company with a man before she had passed through this trial; or, at least, she must have done it very privately to escape punishment.

THE Guaranis placed great faith in certain men, who, at once, acted the part of fortune tellers and physicians, pretending to draw certain informations of what was to happen from the singing of birds, and to have received from heaven the power of curing all manner of diseases. Their whole quackery, however, consisted in sucking the part afflicted, and then pretending to extract from it something, which they had the precaution of taking into their mouths before they went to work, but produced, with the greatest assurance, as the cause of all the patient's illness, whose imagination they greatly calmed by this stratagem. This, no doubt, was doing a great deal. Besides, they never worried their patients with drugs and operations, so that, if they did not assist nature, neither did they obstruct her; and if they did not cure, neither did they kill, their patients. The Guaranis had likewise, their conjurers, who boasted a power of killing whoever they thought proper; and had, in fact, so far bewitched numbers as to make them believe, that several had been carried off by the secret power of their incantations; so that it was sometimes enough for a man to have an enemy, to be seized with a panic, and

and even die of it, if he had not wherewith to bribe these impostors.

THE province inhabited by the Guaranis, of whom we have been speaking, for there are other Guaranis, as we said before, dispersed almost all over this part of South America, resembling, more or less, in manners and customs the nations among whom they are settled; the original province of Guayra, I mean, to which Father Salorio and Father Filds were now travelling, is almost equally divided by the tropic of Capricorn; and is bounded, to the East, by Brazil; to the North, by a very low and wet country covered with trees, but as yet very little known, though very populous; to the South, by the Uruguay; and to the West, by the Paraguay, though between the Guaranis and this last river there are several nations, most of whom live a wandering life. The weather of Guayra is almost every where unequal and inconstant; the air, in general, unwholesome; and accordingly, fevers are very common here. It naturally produces several fruits, as the guembé, the grenadilla, and dates of a very bitter taste. All the plains and low lands are very fertile in pulse, roots, manioc, maiz, and other plants, which require little culture. It, likewise, abounds with many trees fit for building, particularly cedar, and every other species of pine and fir, in whose hollows honey and wax are found in great abundance. As to animals, it has all those already mentioned in the general description of Paraguay. To conclude, this province is watered by several rivers, the most considerable of which, next to the Parana, are the *Parapané*, which receives several other smaller ones; and the *Guibay*, upon which formerly stood Villarica, pretty near its discharge into the Parana, to which all the other rivers of this province are tributary.

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THERE are certain stones in the province of Guayra, which for some years were greatly cried up. They are found, at a considerable distance under the surface of the earth, inclosed in a very hard crust of an oval figure. It is assured, that, when they have acquired their proper size, they shiver their covering to pieces, with a report equal to that made by a bomb in bursting, and issue forth in the form of a transparent stone with a very fine lustre. But they are not all of one colour. Some are green, some of a violet colour, but most of them red. There is so much regularity, and, at the same time, so much variety in their form, that one can hardly be persuaded that they are the work of nature. But all their beauty is superficial; for, at bottom, they are of no more value than those found in the country of Liege. The Spaniards, however, were at first so much deceived by their lustre, that several had well nigh thrown up their settlements to carry quantities of them into Spain, thinking to make their fortunes by them. And, in fact, as soon as the news of this discovery reached that kingdom, it was given out, that Paraguay was full of amethysts, carbuncles, and emeralds. But none were deceived except such, as made most haste to be first at market.

THE guembé, which I mentioned, is an oblong fruit, pointed at both ends, and a palm in breadth. It is full of little yellowish grains, which taste very sweet when only sucked, but, when broke between the teeth, throw out a juice, whose bitterness is not to be supported. It appears that the plant bearing this fruit is a kind of bean, which fastens upon trees, and grows to a great height. The grains of this fruit when they happen to fall upon the bark of a rotten tree, immediately shoot out into threads, which, falling to the ground, immediately take root there, and produce plants of the same species.

I SAID that the dates of this country are bitter ; notwithstanding which, some authors pretend, that they make wine of them, and a very nourishing kind of broth. The palm trees, which bear them, and are to be found at every step, are a great resource to distressed travellers, as the pith of them is both palatable and nourishing.

THE wild bears of Guayra, as well as of some other parts of Paraguay, have their navels on their backs ; but, perhaps, it has not been observed any where else, this part must be cut off the moment the beast is dead, as, otherwise, it would soon infect the whole carcase. It is not less surprizing, that, though the honey of this province is excellent, no means have been hitherto found to bleach the wax found along with it.

SUCH was the country, where Father Filds and Father de Ortega undertook to preach Jesus Christ. They, first, repaired to Ciudad Real, where they learned, on their arrival, that not a single priest had been seen there for several years past ; and, accordingly, they met with many inhabitants, who had scarce any thing christian about them but the name. After employing a whole month in catechising, preaching, and hearing confessions, in order to prepare them to partake worthily of the holy mysteries, they set out for Villarica, where the inhabitants laboured under the same spiritual distress ; and they had the comfort of administering equal relief to them. This done, they visited the Indian towns and villages, which were, in a more particular manner, the object of their mission, and followed the wandering Guaranis through their forests, and over their mountains. Having spent several months in these excursions, they returned, by their superior Father Salonio's orders, to the Assumption, with the glad tidings, that they had left behind them two hundred

dred thousand Indians, quite ripe for the kingdom of Christ.

1589. THE plague now raged to a great degree in this capital, and had even gained the adjoining settlements. But, though it carried off numbers, three jesuits exerted themselves so much, that none died without confession; and, during the nine months it lasted, nine thousand moribond Indians received baptism. In the mean time, Father de Ortega having received notice, that, thirty leagues beyond Villarica, there were a great number of wandering Guaranis, who had been formerly baptized, but who did not even know what baptism was, and, besides, greatly molested the Spaniards, he set out in quest of them; and, having at last met them, made them sensible of the obligations they had contracted in receiving that sacrament. He then repaired to Villarica, whose commandant, being desirous to gain over a great Indian town in the neighbourhood, concluded with great reason, that the best way to do it was to make christians of its inhabitants. He found no difficulty in prevailing on the missionary to join him in an expedition for that purpose. Father de Ortega instructed and baptized four hundred of the inhabitants in a very short time; but, at last, when he least suspected it, providentially discovered a conspiracy formed against his own and the governor's life, which obliged them to retire with some precipitation. The Indians who waited on the governor, having remained behind, paid for their master's escape, and were all murdered.

FATHER de Ortega, at his return to Villarica, found there Father Fiids, who was come to bring him back to the Assumption by Father Salonio's orders; but the Spaniards and the Neophytes would not consent to part with them; and, on their superior, to whom a courier was immediately dispatched

patched for that purpose, consenting to their stay, they immediately built a house and a chapel for them. In the mean time, a revolt, which broke out among the Calchaquis, contributed greatly to make the inhabitants of Tucuman consider the new missionaries as men equally useful to secure the repose of the Spaniards in these provinces, and establish the christian religion among the natives. There are in this continent two nations known by the name of Calchaquis, who, though they now live at a considerable distance asunder, originally formed but one, which, for a long time, was entirely confined to one of the valleys between the mountains of Peru, to the West of Salta, which to this day retains the name of *the valley of Calchaqui*. These barbarians, had, for several years, proved very troublesome neighbours to the Spaniards, till, at length, Don Alphonso Mercado and Villacorta, being for the second time governor of Tucuman, defeated them in 1565, when part of them fled towards Buenos Ayres, where their posterity still remains. The rest were transported to the frontiers of Chaco, and given in command.

1589-90. But the last, unable to bear any longer the drudgery of the personal service required from them, mutinied, and took refuge in the mountains, from whence they made frequent excursions into the Spanish settlements. Don Juan Ramirez de Velasco, successor to Don Alphonso, undertook to force them in their strong holds ; or, at least, oblige them to remain quiet ; and invited Father Barfena to accompany him in the expedition. The missionary consented in hopes of meeting with some opportunity of preaching Jesus Christ to them ; nor was he entirely disappointed.

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THE governor, being but little acquainted with the country, in a short time found himself engaged in some defiles, where the enemy had the precaution to place a strong party; and was in the utmost danger of being cut off with all his troops, when Father Barfena undertook to extricate him. For this purpose, he set out, alone, for the place where the Calchaquis were posted; and having happily reached them at the top of a high mountain, notwithstanding all their endeavours to intercept him, he surprised them so much by his boldness, that they gazed on him like so many statues. In the mean time, he addressed them with so much mildness, and in so engaging a manner, that he soon prevailed upon them not to molest the Spaniards any longer; promising, on his side, that, as long as they remained quiet, the Spaniards should never attempt to give them the least disturbance.

Nor satisfied with this success, he remained with them sometime longer for the nobler purpose of scattering the seed of the gospel amongst them; after which he set out for the country of the Indians called Lulles, among whom he expected to find the spiritual harvest in great forwardness, as some of them had been civilized and baptised by Saint Francis Solano, though, on being cruelly treated by the Spaniards to whom they had been given in command, they dispersed again. It is probable, the Calchaquis set out for their valley soon after his departure; at least, we shall find them there in the course of this history.

Of all the barbarians of the new world, these Lulles were, perhaps, the most barbarous, since the women amongst them, though ever willing to give their breasts to puppies that happen to have lost their dam, cannot be prevailed to give them the one to the offspring of another, so that it is a common thing amongst them, when a woman happens to

die with a child at her breast, to bury it along with her, for want of some other woman to give it suck. To this want of the feelings most common to man and beast, they added the greatest aversion for any kind of restraint; for, though they had their caciques like other nations, they allowed them no authority but in time of war, when it was impossible to do without them. At other times, every man was his own master; even the fathers of families had no more power than any other person belonging to it. Their marriages were no way binding; the least whim was sufficient to part husband and wife, and the children paid no obedience to either. Prostitution, moreover, and artificial abortions were considered as indifferent actions; a girl's title to a husband never suffered by her destroying the unhappy fruit of her disorders; and, accordingly, an universal dissoluteness of manners prevailed, even among the youngest members of this strange nation. People of this character are not made to live in society; and, accordingly, every family lived apart, never uniting but to celebrate some festivals, which they did with rites which modesty forbids us to mention; and in defence of their liberty, the only thing they are jealous of; so that they never attack any one on any other account.

THE country inhabited by the Lulles is so dry, that for several months together they have no water, but what they receive directly from the clouds; or find in water melons, whose seeds they sow in great plenty; and in a certain root they call *Yacol*, which supplies them with large quantities of that useful element. The flesh of this root is white, and has a very agreeable taste; at least, they think so.

SUCH was the nation, which Father Barsena flattered himself with being able to gain over to the gospel, on his hearing that there were already
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some christians among them ; and he, accordingly, entered their country with that zeal, which had been so successful among others, when Father Juan Fonté, a new superior lately arrived from Peru with Father Baptiste Agnasco, recalled him to Tucuman on the report of his health and his strength being greatly impaired, and the Lulles having, besides, conspired to take away his life. He was, afterwards, ordered to halt at St. Michael, which lay in his way, while the superior himself, with Father Angulo his predecessor, took up his post near the Red River in the district of the Conception.

It was the adelantade Don Alphonso de Vera, who had formed the project of this mission, with a view of collecting, in the neighbourhood of this city, as many of the natives of Chaco, as he possibly could, in order to form them into towns, and by that means facilitate their total conversion. Nothing could be better contrived than this plan ; and, if it had been pursued, half the inhabitants of Chaco would have been christians these several years past. But the great scarcity of missionaries, and, still more, the scandalous lives of the ancient christians, their avarice and their cruelty, made it miscarry, in spite of all the Adelantade could do to make it succeed. The Indians nearest to the Conception were a roving nation, called *Frontones* by the Spaniards, from a custom they have of plucking up, by the roots, all the hair on the fore part of their heads, so as to make their foreheads appear higher by one half than they really are.

Of the several tribes composing this nation, the least barbarous were the *Mataras* or *Mataranes* ; and it was by them, chiefly, the adelantade intended to begin his laudable scheme of securing the friendship of all the Indians subject to his government, by the bonds of religion, in as much as several of them had been already baptized, probably by St.

Francis Solano, or some of the companions of his apostleship ; though there scarce remained among them the least traces of the christian religion.

1590. Don Alphonso de Vera gave the missionaries a very kind reception ; but, as he was in haste to have all the Mataranes christians, he could not be satisfied with their presence ; and, therefore, entreated father Fonté to send for the Fathers Agnasco and Barfena. It is incredible, what anumber of souls these four labourers gained over to Jesus Christ in less than twelve months, though a great part of it was necessarily spent in learning their language. This success determined them to penetrate further into this barbarous country. But, on the representations of the Spaniards, that the people they intended to go in quest of were no way disposed to receive them, it was resolved that Father Fonté and Father Angulo should stay behind, Don Alphonso ordered a party of soldiers, commanded by his brother Don Francis de Vera, to escort the other two, in spite of all they could say to prevent it ; for they apprehended that this precaution would spoil all their measures ; and it happened accordingly. The *Mogofnas*, the most unsettled and dissolute nation among the Frontones, artfully surprized this detachment ; and murdered every soul of them, their commander not excepted ; upon which, the adelantade being resolved to revenge his brother's death, a war ensued, which deprived the missionaries of all hopes of succeeding in their undertaking, and made them set out in search of some other opportunity to exercise their functions to advantage. Accordingly, after making some excursions in the neighbourhood of the Conception without finding any nation disposed to listen to them, they crossed the Rio de la Plata, and marched along the banks of it to *Saint John de Corrientes*, a little town lately founded just above

above the confluence of the Paraguay and the Parana, where the Spaniards and some Indians in the neighbourhood had invited them, and amply rewarded their trouble in coming, by making the proper use of their stay amongst them.

IN the mean time, the provincial of the
 *593. jesuits of Peru recalled Father Fonté; and sent Father Romero to succeed him as superior in Paraguay; and, along with him, the Fathers Gaspar de Monroy, Juan Viana, and Marcello Lorencana. The first thing Father Romero did on his arrival in Tucuman, was to give up a piece of ground, that had been made a present of to his predecessor near Salta, for the subsistence of the missionaries, of the company who had no other funds to depend upon. His reasons for taking this step were; first, that his religious were too few to settle in any place, and make any thing of such an acquisition; and, secondly, this piece of ground could not be turned to any account, but by procuring Indians to cultivate it; and he did not chuse to authorize, by his example, the crying abuse of personal services. He then thought proper to distribute his missionaries among those places, where he imagined their labours might be attended with most success. He ordered the Fathers de Ortega and Filds to remain among the Guaranis; sent the Fathers Angulo and Viana to Santiago; and named the Fathers Agnasco and de Monroy for an expedition among the *Omaguacas*, a nation established on the frontiers of Tucuman and Peru. As to himself, he fixed upon no particular place, in order to be always the readier to run where ever his assistance might be most wanting.

THE *Omaguacas* were a very fierce and savage people, who, after receiving the gospel, and submitting to the crown of Spain, had renounced Jesus Christ; thrown off the spanish yoke; murdered their

missionaries; massacred all the Spaniards they could lay their hands on; twice destroyed the town of Jujuy; and, for thirty years past, were perpetually making irruptions into this part of Tucuman, which, in consequence of their depredations, was become a mere desert. To oppose a dyke to this torrent, the governor of the province resolved to begin by rebuilding the town of Jujuy, and putting it, to the best of his power, in a respectable condition. Don Francisco de Arganerez, whom he had charged with this commission, after sufficiently justifying the choice that had been made of him, took the field; rendered the Spaniards, in their turn, formidable to the Omaguacas; disposed the Indians to receive missionaries; and restored tranquility to the province, not only on this side, but on that of Chaco,

It was two years, however, before he could trust to their mercy the missionaries commissioned to bring back these Indians to the worship of the true God; but they had enough to do elsewhere, during this interval. On the other hand, the Fathers Barsena and Lorencana no sooner arrived at the Assumption, than they embarked on the Paraguay, in order to remount that river, and establish a mission as far to the north as it was possible. They spent four months in this voyage; and had so much reason to be satisfied with the docility of the Indians they visited, that, though, by the time they got back to the Assumption, they were quite exhausted with sickness and fatigue, they would have set out immediately, to finish what they had so happily begun, if Father Romero, who was already arrived there, had not detained them.

FATHER Romero's errand to the Assumption was to examine, in person, what services could be done to religion in the province of Rio de la Plata; and he intended to make but a very short stay in it. But he soon found more work on his hands than
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he, at first, expected. This, however, he had no reason to repent. All his enterprizes for the salvation of souls were crowned with success. But that, which most endeared him to the inhabitants, was his reconciling the secular clergy of the diocese, with the vicar general who governed it while the see was vacant, at a time that the misunderstanding between them was on the point of breaking out into a scandalous rupture. He, afterwards, made some excursions into the towns of the Guaranis, that lay nearest to the city; and acquired the affection of the Indians to such a degree, that, at his return to the Assumption, the inhabitants vied with each other, who should give him the first and greatest marks of the highest esteem and the sincerest confidence. The nobility, moreover, and the magistrates, taking it into their serious consideration, what they might reasonably expect from six or seven religions, who, though they had scarce time to shew themselves in these provinces, had so intirely changed the face of them in regard to religion and good manners, thought, that, in order never to want such valuable labourers, they could not do better than give them a solid establishment in the capital.

AFTER deliberating, therefore, on this affair, without their knowledge, they took a resolution to write to the king, the general of the company, and the provincial of Peru, to obtain their consent for erecting a college of Jesuits at the Assumption, and a sufficient number of religious to fill all the charges of one. They even went further. For, as they made no doubt of receiving a favourable answer to their letters, they immediately bought, with the public money, a spot of ground for a house and a church to stand upon; and father Romero, in spite of his reluctance to accept of an establishment, as he judged it rather premature,

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was obliged to comply, till the further pleasure of his catholic majesty, and of his general, should be known. The work, therefore, was immediately set about. The inhabitants, the women of the best families not excepted, would put a hand to it; and they spared no expence, though the superior did all that lay in his power to moderate their zeal. The only answer he could obtain to all his representations was, that what they did, they did it for Jesus Christ; and, of course, ought not to be afraid of doing too much. At length, the house was finished in 1595; and, though the church still wanted something, the blessed sacrament was placed there in a decent and becoming manner.

1594-5. This great liking to the Jesuits was chiefly owing to the facility, with which they were known to handle the minds of the most untractable of those Indians who surrounded the Spaniards; and against whom all force, and all fair means tried by any other mediators, had been hitherto found a very weak defence. The Indians, on the other hand, flattered themselves, that the Spaniards might be prevailed upon by men, for whom they expressed so much esteem, to treat them better than they had hitherto done. This, their own interest should have engaged the Spaniards to do; for past experience had sufficiently proved, that the only way to establish themselves solidly among so many nations, jealous of their liberty, was to better their condition. But such was their infatuation, that, in a short time, they began to think ill of those very men, whom they had so lately been crying up to the skies, as patterns of every virtue; and that merely for pleading the cause of those Indians, without whose friendship, as will afterwards appear, it was impossible for the Spaniards to live in the country.

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FATHER MONROY, with a lay-brother Jesuit, called Juan de Toledo, had, at length, reached the Omaguacas, and found so little difficulty in gaining their attention, that five towns soon applied for instruction, and were speedily followed by so many others, that nothing now remained, in order to establish the kingdom of Jesus Christ among the Omaguacas, but to reduce one of their Caciques, called Piltipicon, who, having been baptized in his infancy, had renounced the gospel, and rendered the Spaniards all the evil he pretended to have received from them; massacring their priests; burning their churches; and ravaging their settlements. Father Monroy, therefore, armed with all that confidence which Jesus Christ has so much recommended to the preachers of his gospel, resolved to reduce, if possible, this terrible Cacique; and set out, alone, to confer with him. As soon as he came into the chief's presence, he told him, that the good wishes he entertained for his real happiness had made him despise the terrors of an almost certain death, in order to engage him to think seriously of his welfare. "But, then, added he, you cannot expect much honour by taking away the life of a naked man. If, contrary to my expectation, you will consent to listen to me, all the advantage of our conversation will be yours; whereas, if I die by your hands, an immortal crown in heaven will be my reward."

PILTIPICON was so amazed, or rather softened by the missionary's boldness, that he presented him with a kind of beer, which the Omaguaca women make with Maiz well ground between their teeth; and, however nauseous this liquor appeared to the missionary, he drank some of it. He then asked Piltipicon's leave to penetrate further into the country to preach Jesus Christ, with some provisions for his journey. Piltipicon
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civilly granted every thing he asked ; and the missionary found every where the same docility he had hitherto experienced, and made the same successful use of it. He afterwards returned to Piltipicon ; and managed him so dexterously, that he prevailed upon him to make peace with the Spaniards on conditions, which he first settled, and the governor of Tucuman afterwards ratified and confirmed.

1596. THE news of this treaty filled the province with joy, and procured father Monroy, from every quarter, praises and thanks, to which, however, he was altogether insensible, as, while the Cacique refused to return under the yoke of the gospel, he could entertain no reasonable hopes of being able to convert all his nation. It was not long, before a report prevailed, that Piltipicon thought nothing of the peace to which he had sworn, and had even conspired with another apostate Cacique, to ruin, a third time, the town of Jujuy ; and, though this report had no foundation, the governor of Jujuy thought proper to put it out of the power of the Caciques to hurt him ; and having then found means to draw them into the place, secured their persons.

THIS was enough to render the Omaguacas irreconcilable ; but father Agnasco, who very fortunately happened to be then at Jujuy, and father Monroy, who hastened back to it, on the first notice he received of the governor's behaviour, repaired all the mischief that had been done. The two prisoners were set at liberty ; kindly used by the inhabitants ; and, after some friendly conferences with the governor, terminated all differences by a sincere return to the gospel. The whole nation soon followed their example. Soon after, the missionaries, thinking it absolutely requisite to remove them from that part of the country they
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now occupied, as it could not be reasonably expected they should long remain there without their neighbours attempting to seduce them; the new christians consented to this transmigration with more readiness than could at first be well expected from them; and followed their spiritual fathers to a spot nearer Tucuman, where a zealous secular priest, who understood their language perfectly well, was appointed to govern them.

THIS event was soon followed by the deaths of father Barfena, in Peru; and father Salonio, at the Assumption; the loss of whom was immediately felt, though their places were soon filled up by others; the call for evangelical labourers encreasing in these provinces, in a much greater proportion, than it was possible to supply it. That of Guayra, especially, was become, from day to day, more disposed to receive the gospel, through the indefatigable zeal of Father Filds and Father de Ortega, who, for eight years past, could almost number their days by the flocks of infidels they brought home to the fold of the sovereign pastor of souls. It is true, this success cost them such labour and fatigue, as one would be apt to imagine, far exceeded the strength of the human frame. The journeys, alone, which they were often obliged to undertake in quest of the infidels, were sufficient to damp any zeal less than that which animated them. Of this truth the following is a striking instance.

As Father de Ortega was once crossing, in company with his catechist, and some Neophytes and Catechumens, a plain between two rivers, of which one falls into the Paraguay, and the other into the Parana, both suddenly swelled to such a degree, that all the lands between them became, almost instantaneneously, one vast sea. Nothing, they say, is more

more common in this country, than such sudden inundations; which are, moreover, too irregular to admit of any precaution being taken against them. The missionary, therefore, was not much surprized at the present; and thought he might escape, by travelling, for some time, up to his waist in water, as he had often before been obliged to do; but he soon lost ground; and was forced, in order to save his life, to climb up a tree. The Indians, who accompanied him, did the same; but, as they had not precaution enough to chuse the highest trees, the water soon reached them. The Father, more fortunate or provident, was safe enough upon his, with his catechist, when the cries of his children, who were endeavouring to fasten upon the highest branches, and were exhausted with fatigue, pierced him to the heart.

THE waters still continued to swell; and, as the travellers had no provisions about them, they were in the most evident danger, either of perishing with hunger, or dropping, through faintness, into the water, and being drowned. While the missionary was making these melancholy reflections, there came on a shower attended with thunder and lightning, and a very impetuous wind, which contributed greatly to increase the horrors of their dreadful situation. Besides, the surface of the water was covered with tigers, lions, and several other ravenous beasts; and even serpents and vipers, which the inundation had likewise surprized. At length, one of these reptiles, of an enormous size, fastened upon one of the branches of the tree, where Father de Ortega was perched; and the missionary every minute expected to be devoured by the monster; when, the branch it was on happily breaking, it fell back into the water, and turned another way.

THE travellers had now been two days in this dreadful situation, the storm continuing all the time,

time, and the waters rising rather than falling; when, about midnight, the missionary perceived, by means of the flashes that filled the heavens, one of his Indians swimming towards him by the same light; and crying out, as soon as he was near enough to be heard, that three Catechumens and three christians were on the point of expiring; and most earnestly requested his assistance. Upon this, Father de Ortega, having first tied his catechist to the tree, the poor man being no longer in a condition to support himself, and then confessed him, threw himself into the water to follow the Indian who came to call him; and, in spite of [the waves, and the branches of trees, most of them covered all over with thorns, one of which ran quite through his thigh, he reached the catechumens, whom he found hanging by their arms to the branches; he baptized them in that posture; and, the next moment, had the mortification of seeing them fall into the water, where it was impossible to save them from drowning. He then hastened to the three Neophytes, two of whom perished a few moments after.

HAVING thus performed his office, he set out for his tree, and got to it very seasonably for his catechist, who had now the water up to his neck. He immediately untied the poor man, and helped him as well as he could to a higher branch. That very evening the waters began to subside; and, as soon as the Father could put his foot on the ground, he set out to visit his fellow travellers that he had left alive. In the mean time, his thigh, where the thorn still remained, had swelled to such a degree, that, after he had taken a few steps, the Indians were obliged to carry him to Villarica to be dressed; but he got there too late to expect a perfect cure; so that, after two and twenty years that he survived this accident, his wound, which could never be
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perfectly closed, gave him, from time to time, the greatest uneasiness. He soon, however, resumed his functions ; and was called back with Father Filds to the Assumption, where Father Lorencana, who had remained alone there, could no longer answer all the calls of the inhabitants.

FATHER Romero, in the mean time, during eighteen months that he spent at Santafé, had endeared himself greatly to both Spaniards and Indians ; and so much to the former, that they wrote to the provincial of the Jesuits in Peru, to offer him a house in their town. But, though there arrived, the year following, a new reinforcement of missionaries from that kingdom, it was not possible to fix any of them there. The superior, who had repaired to Tucuman to receive the new missionaries, undertook in company with Father John Dario, an Italian, and brother John Rodriguez, a mission in the city of Corduba. Though the inhabitants, at first, treated them very coolly, on account of some umbrage they had taken at them ; on knowing them better, they offered them a house and a chapel very conveniently situated ; and, soon after, the magistrates, finding that the chapel was too small to contain the crowds that flocked to it, ordered the plan of a church to be traced out, and immediately put men to work at the foundation. The Indians in the neighbourhood, who had been instructed by the Fathers de Ortega and Barfena, being informed by Father Romero and his companions, who went to pay them a visit, that a church was now building at Corduba, large enough to receive them, when there should be no missionaries to send to them, immediately offered to transport all the materials necessary to finish it ; and their offer being accepted, it was soon happily finished.

1600. FATHER Romero made no stay at Corduba, but set out, with Father Monroy, to carry the light of the gospel among the *Diaguities*, who live near the southern extremity of Tucuman. These Indians, less addicted to drunkenness than their neighbours, had conceived a very great esteem for the jesuits, of whom they had heard, among other things, that they did all that lay in their power to hinder the Indians from being ill used; and this happy prevention had given hopes to a spanish gentleman, called John de Abreu, whose father had been governor of Tucuman, that, if he made his appearance among them, along with the Fathers of the company, he would find it an easy matter to civilize them. The missionaries, on their side, who knew but little of the language of these people, or the road to their country, were overjoyed to find, in a man of his rank both a guide, and an interpreter, that could not fail of rendering their ministry still more respectable. And it happened accordingly. They were almost every where very well received, and very attentively listened to, till the king's lieutenant at Salta interfered with their labours, through a false zeal for the welfare of his spanish fellow subjects.

1601. THIS officer, (who had, it is probable, received from the governor of the province a general order, to engage all the new christians to acknowledge the king of Spain for their sovereign,) having heard of the many conversions wrought among the *Diaguities*, imagined he should find no difficulty in making them consent to every thing prescribed them in the name, and for the service, of his majesty. He, therefore, ordered them, without any further ceremony, to send a certain number of labourers to Salta. This proceeding both surprized and exasperated the *Diaguities* to

such a degree, that the fathers, after some parleys with them to very little purpose, thought it prudent to retire to Corduba till a more favourable opportunity.

1602. The next year, Father Paez having arrived at Saka, with a commission from the general of the jesuits to visit all the houses of his order in this part of the world, he immediately after his arrival, called together all the missionaries dispersed over the province of Tucuman, and that of Rio de la Plata, which still comprehended the district since separated from it by the name of the province of Paraguay. After conferring separately with every one of them, he assembled them in council, in order to fix, in concert with them, upon some uniform method to be observed in preaching the gospel to so many different and distant nations ; as uniform a method, at least, as the situation of places, and other circumstances would admit.

He began by telling them, that he did not approve their rambling missions from one extremity of those vast provinces to another, as little stress, he thought, could be laid on rapid conversions ; which, besides, their being too often the fruit of a sudden emotion, it was impossible to perfect, in the small space of time allowed for them ; that of this there was a very striking instance in the apostleship of the holy Father Francis Solano, still living, of whose labours, though he had visited every part of Tucuman, and a great part of Chaco, and converted in both a vast number of infidels, there scarce remained any traces, on account of his having no where made any fixed settlement. He then observed, that it was with the seed of the gospel, as with that committed to the earth, which, after being sown, required several other operations, and the

the most constant attention, before the produce of it could be gathered into the barn.

THOUGH those, to whom this discourse was addressed, were, in the main, of the same opinion with Father Paez, they could not, among other things, help representing to him, that it was their duty to go wherever the bishops, or those who governed the vacant dioceses, required them; that, besides, persons engaged in this way of life were not always masters of themselves, but obliged to follow the secret impulses of providence for the salvation of certain predestinated souls; that their courses were, moreover, authorized by the many miracles wrought by Father Francis Solano in his transitions from place to place; and that, after all, the missions they had made were very far from being useless, since they had thereby acquired a sufficient knowledge of the country, and of the various dispositions of the several nations, to whom they were to preach the gospel. Each, after this, proposed what he thought was best to be done, considering the present situation of affairs in the vast country, where they had undertaken to establish the christian religion on the ruins of idolatry.

THE visiter then drew up some regulations for the conduct of his brethren in these provinces. The first was, to leave to the jesuits of Brazil all the country to the east of the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, as that kingdom lay more convenient, and was more in a condition than Peru, to supply it with missionaries; and such missionaries would, besides, come there masters of the language most current among the inhabitants. This project no sooner got wind, than all the Spaniards of Tucuman approved it, and most of the towns wrote to the general of the company for jesuits, with offers to build and endow colleges for them.

BUT it was quite otherwise at the Assumption, which, as we have seen, stands on the eastern banks of the Paraguay. The departure of the jesuits established there, in order to wait on the visiter at Salta, was very variously interpreted. All imagined, they were gone never to return again; and some shewed, by their tears and their complaints, how sincerely concerned they were to lose them, whilst the greatest number broke out into invectives, from which the behaviour of these religious might, one would imagine, have been sufficient to exempt them. The latter gave out, that the members of this new institute took no delight in poor colonies; and could only settle, in countries that were rich in themselves, or lay near enough to Peru, to be enriched by it; that, if their zeal for the salvation of souls was sincere, they would not turn their backs upon a country, in which they might expect to find more opportunities, than in any other, of exercising it to advantage, and in which nothing had been omitted to give them proofs of the most entire confidence; that, after all, the promise, with which they amused the inhabitants of the Assumption of sending them Portuguese Jesuits, was but a mere pretext, being highly improbable, that the royal council of the Indies should admit into the states of his catholic majesty, missionaries that were not his natural born subjects; or the crown of Lisbon take upon itself the charge of supplying with missionaries a country, which did not belong to it. This was a difficulty, upon which, however obvious, Father Paez, it seems, had not, at first, sufficiently reflected. However, though he did not immediately yield to the first remonstrances against this part of his plan, he took no steps to carry it into execution; and by that means afforded his brethren an opportunity of making him observe, before

before it was too late, the ill consequences that might attend it.

IN the mean time, Father de Ortega received orders to repair to Lima, at five hundred leagues distance, and surrender himself to the supreme inquisition of Peru; and, though his last journey of no less than three hundred leagues, which he had been obliged to travel to reach Salta, had considerably encreased his pains, he immediately set out. But neither his prompt obedience, nor his apostolical labours in Brazil and Paraguay, could hinder his being shut up, on his arrival, in the prison of the holy office. We may well imagine, that the news of this event astonished all those, who knew any thing of his indefatigable zeal. They could not conceive, that a man, who had done so many heroic things in the exercise of his ministry, and in whose favour heaven had declared itself by several miracles, could deserve to be treated like a criminal, especially in his present weak state of health. He could not himself guess what he was accused of. However, the known integrity of the tribunal, which treated him with so much rigour, and the silence observed by the servant of God himself in so mortifying a situation, hindered the public from pronouncing him innocent.

HE lay five months in prison, without being accused of any thing; his judges still expecting, that he would accuse himself, which, as his conscience reproached him with nothing, it was impossible for him to do. At the expiration of this term, his superiors obtained leave to take him home, on condition that they should deliver him up again when called for; and, in the mean time, not permit him to go out of their house, or say mass, or see any persons but those of his own order; and in this con-

dition he spent two years. At length, an act arrived from Paraguay, which fully justified him. This was a retractation judicially made, before several witnesses, who had signed it, by an inhabitant of Villarica, who had accused him of having revealed his confession, but now declared, on his death bed, that it was a mere calumny, invented to punish the holy man, for refusing to absolve him but on conditions, with which, however wise and just, he was not willing to comply.

THE president of the Inquisition no sooner received this writing, than he, in the most solemn manner, published Father de Ortega's innocence, and restored him to all his rights and privileges. Soon after, Don Gaspar Zunida, viceroy of Peru, cast his eyes upon him as the fittest man, in the world, to send to his troublesome and dangerous neighbours the Chiriguanes, who had lately applied to him for missionaries, and he, therefore, imagined were, at last, sincerely disposed to embrace the gospel. Though Father de Ortega considered this application as no better than a stratagem to gain time, in order to renew, with greater vigour, their hostilities against the Spaniards, he thought proper to comply with Don Gaspar's request; and immediately set out for that country, with Father Villarnao, another jesuit; and spent two years among them; when his superiors, finding that his zeal was thrown away upon them; and that, besides, he was quite broke down with fatigue, they ordered him to la Plata, where he died, about the year 1624, in an extreme old age. After he had abandoned the Chiriguanes, Father Augustin Fabio, a Franciscan, attended by a lay brother, and some other Spaniards, entered their mountains by the valley of Tarija, and was happy enough to make some conversions, and even build a church among them. But, during a journey he was obliged to make to la Plata, these barbarians

barians massacred all the Spaniards he had brought with him ; drove his lay brother out of the country ; and so effectually shut up all the avenues to their mountains, that Father Fabio could never get among them again.

End of the Fourth Book.

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BOOK

B O O K V.

Jesuits invited back to the Assumption ; established at Buenos Ayres. Fresh quarrels between the Spaniards and them, touching the liberty of the Indians, notwithstanding the conditions on which the Jesuits formed settlements amongst both. King of Spain interposes his authority in favour of the latter. Guaranis civilized and converted in great numbers by the jesuits ; and formed into towns, called reductions, under the care of these Fathers, but subject to the crown of Spain, which accordingly supports the measures taken by the jesuits. Description of the reductions. Bishop of Buenos Ayres visits them. His letter on the occasion to the king of Spain.

1604. **N**otwithstanding all the invectives spread against the jesuits at the Assumption, the Magistrates of that capital, and the vicar general of the diocese, had written to the general of the company to complain of Father Paez ; and, soon after, the new bishop of the Assumption, Don Martin Ignatius de Loyola, formerly of the order of St. Francis, and nephew to the Saint of that name, wrote to Father Romero, that, had he known the jesuits would abandon his diocese, he never would have accepted the government of it ; and, therefore, requested him to send them back directly ; otherwise, he would apply to his general ; and, if requisite, to his catholic majesty ; and even

even the Pope ; to make him comply ; and he was, it seems, so much in earnest, that he wrote to the general, before he could get Father Romero's answer. This, however, proved an unnecessary trouble, as Father Romero, who could never relish Father Paez's system, had already sent him Father Lorencana and Father Joseph Cateldino ; and, soon after, had the pleasure of finding what he had thus done through his own discretion, recommended to him by his general and his provincial.

THESE two missionaries immediately set out by water for the Assumption ; but were wrecked in the passage ; and, after narrowly escaping being drowned, through the boldness and affection of their Indian companions, who rescued them from the waves with the greatest difficulty, and at the hazard of their own lives, they were on the point of perishing with hunger, when they providentially discovered the bishop going down the river to Buenos Ayres. This prelate, who little expected to meet those he so much longed for, embraced them tenderly ; entertained them in the best manner he was able ; gave them one of his barks loaded with provisions, to continue their journey ; and, at parting, conferred on them all the power he could to the utmost limits of his jurisdiction, which as yet extended to the sea. The inhabitants of the Assumption received them, likewise, with the greatest respect and affection. But it was not long before they met with some of those contradictions, which Jesus Christ ordered his apostles to consider as a sure mark of their being his servants.

THEY had, it seems, declared too openly in favour of the Indians, and against the abuse the Spaniards made of the commandes, to enjoy much longer the good will and confidence of those, whom the most alarming experience could not convince, how much it was their interest to treat the natives of
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the country in a more gentle and equitable manner. But what is to the last degree surprizing, their dislike broke out on occasion of an event, which should have produced a quite contrary effect. Some Indians, who were settled on the banks of the Paraguay, and had been given in command, rose up, and massacred several Spaniards. The news of this having reached the capital in the governor's absence, the officer, who commanded in his place, set out with a party of soldiers to chastize them. But changing his mind on the road, for what reason we are not told, he fell upon some other Indians, whom he found unarmed, though they were allies to the Spaniards, and had always been faithful to them; treated them like enemies; loaded a great number of them with chains; led them, as it were, in triumph to the capital; and sold them for slaves to the best bidder.

FATHER LORENCANA thought himself bound not to pass over in silence so crying an act of injustice; and, finding that his private remonstrances to the sellers and the buyers of the pretended captives, made no impression on them, got into the pulpit; and openly threatened them with the anger of heaven, if they did not immediately set the poor Indians at liberty. Upon this, the treasurer of the cathedral, who happened to be present, silenced him directly, and commanded him to leave the church. Father Lorencana obeyed without betraying the least concern; and this unexpected moderation struck the audience so much, that a buzz of indignation immediately arose among them against the treasurer, who, troubled and confounded at this mark of their disapprobation, could scarce compose himself enough to own publicly, that he had done wrong to insult an honest man, barely for being bold enough to do his duty.

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THIS confession, extorted perhaps by fear, was succeeded by violent agitations, which hindered him from enjoying, by day or night, a moment's repose; and terminated in convulsions, favouring of madness, in which he expired. Other shocking circumstances were related of his tragical end, which, though I dare not aver them, as being founded merely on popular report, were so firmly believed by the multitude, that this event contributed more to the enlargement of the captives, than the most pathetic exhortations of the missionaries. But, though this affair terminated, in appearance, to the advantage of the Jesuits, it was not long before they discovered in the minds of the inhabitants a leaven of dislike, which has been ever since constantly fermenting; and has, as we shall see hereafter, often shewed itself by the most surprizing effects.

Two or three years after this happened, 1605-7. Father Diego de Torrez arrived from Rome, in quality of Provincial of Chili and Paraguay; and, as he came by the way of Peru, visited, on his road, the Omaguacas, that had been already converted to the faith; and passed through Jujuy and Salta, whose inhabitants applied to him for colleges. But, though he brought a reinforcement of fifteen Jesuits with him, he had not enough for that purpose; and was, therefore, obliged to excuse himself from complying with their request, till the arrival of another supply of spiritual recruits. From Salta, he repaired with his flock to Santiago, where Don Francis Treco, the bishop; Don Francis de Ribera, the governor of the province; and, in a word, all the inhabitants received them with the greatest testimonies of respect and affection. The bishop, in particular, among many other obliging things, publicly declared in his cathedral, that, had the report lately spread

spread of the company's intentions to abandon these provinces proved true, he would have renounced his bishoprick, to save himself the concern, of seeing perisk, for want of spiritual assistance, so many souls purchased with the precious blood of Jesus Christ. The bishop had the more reason to speak in this manner, as the provincial, in presenting his children to him, told him, that it was the general's intention, that they should be intirely at his disposal.

1608. THE year after this, eight Jesuits, sent by the general of their order, and defrayed by the king Spain, landed at Buenos Ayres, where the inhabitants, apprized of their coming, had expected them with the greatest impatience, and retained some of them with a view of founding a college. This port, it seems, had already begun to flourish by commerce; for, though the king of Spain had not opened it for strangers, several foreign vessels put in there from time to time, as if driven by stress of weather, or upon some such other pretext; were well received; and carried on a trade equally beneficial to themselves and the inhabitants.

ALL this time, the Indians nearest to the city, many of whom were of almost gigantic stature, continued in their primitive savageness; killing without mercy all the Spaniards they could lay their hands on; so that not one of the inhabitants dared to shew his face at any distance from the town. Some of these Indians had, it is true, been reduced; and might have been gained over to christianity, or at least prepared to listen to the first missionaries, that could be sent to them, had they not been condemned to personal service, which rendered abortive some few attempts made to convert them. At length, however, the inhabitants expected to see so desirable a conquest effected by the
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the Jesuits lately arrived among them. But it was too late to recover, by mildness and persuasion, barbarians, whom superior force alone kept within bounds. Besides, the missionaries, thought it would be losing their time, to preach to them a God full of goodness and mercy, while those, who made profession of serving the same God, retained them in the most cruel slavery.

THE Jesuits, therefore, proposed to the inhabitants to lighten the yoke of these unhappy creatures, in order to dispose them to receive the gospel; but they took offence at this proposal. The Spaniards of Tucuman, who had lately given the Jesuits among them so promising a reception, and thereby, in appearance, authorized them to make the same representations, carried things to far greater lengths. Their provincial, at his return from Chili in the course of his visitation, having stopt at Corduba to settle a noviceship lately formed there, which already began to fill pretty fast, thought it his duty, when all the buildings were finished, not to dismiss, without payment, the Indians, who, to the great surprize of all the inhabitants, had been most prodigal of their sweat and labour in erecting them.

THE inhabitants soon gave him to understand, that this act of justice appeared of dangerous consequence to them; and, finding it was impossible to persuade him, that he had done amiss, flattered themselves they might succeed better by withholding their alms, which were as yet, in a manner, the only thing he and his brethren had to live on; but here, too, they were deceived. Providence, upon which, father Torrez relied a great deal more than on any human assistance, did not abandon him. He then undertook to awaken by his words, as he had already done by his example, the consciences of the inhabitants in regard to the injustice

justice and cruelty, with which they treated the Indians ; and, as he saw his reasons made no impression upon them, concluded by publickly threatening them with the anger of the Almighty, and that of his catholic majesty, of whose intentions, in this respect, they could not be ignorant,

THESE threats were soon, in some measure, accomplished. A sudden and unexpected inundation laid the town under water, and destroyed part of its buildings, which at that time were not very solid ; an impetuous storm of rain and thunder ravaged the country ; a plague succeeded, and swept away a great number of the inhabitants. These, almost indubitable, marks of the anger of heaven made some impression on those, who were not as yet quite lost to all sentiments of religion and humanity ; but a far greater number obstinately persisted in their wickedness ; and even grew more inveterate against the jesuits, who ceased not to upbraid them with it. They cut off, as much as possible, the usual supply of provisions ; and, at last reduced them to a small quantity of maiz, left in their granary, and some other vegetables their garden afforded.

ALL this time, the jesuits continued to plead, with unshaken constancy, the cause of the poor oppressed Indians ; and Father de Torrez, at his departure from Corduba to visit the other houses of his order, recommended, above all things, to the jesuits he left behind him, to place their confidence in him alone, whose interests they defended. They did so, and providence did not forsake them. For, though the procurator received from him, at his departure, but eighty crowns to maintain a numerous community, he found, that, in the eight succeeding months, he spent eight hundred, without borrowing a penny, or being able to tell from what quarter he had received the surplus.

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THE persecution which Father Torrez had suffered at Corduba followed him to Santiago. The inhabitants of this town concluded from what they had heard of his transactions in favour of the Indians of Chili and the neighbourhood of Corduba, that it was in vain to expect any indulgence from him on this head. Thus prejudiced against these fathers, they made no scruple of publicly affirming, that the jesuits had not been accused, without reason, of troubling people's consciences by filling them with groundless scruples; that it was impossible the spirit of God should inspire such severity, which, no doubt, served only to cover some shameful views of interest and ambition; that these Fathers could have no other design, in endearing themselves to the Indians, than that of becoming, themselves, masters of them; and enjoying, alone, all the fruits of their service; that it was for this purpose they had engaged the king and the council of the Indies to publish those edicts, upon which they built so much, and of which they would soon avail themselves to amass treasures to the prejudice of the rest of his majesty's subjects. The most moderate said, that it was, perhaps, doing injustice to the private Fathers of the company to blame them on the occasion, as it was probable they only acted by orders from their superior, whose turbulent and restless spirit had, all on a sudden, banished that happy union and tranquility they enjoyed before his arrival amongst them.

It was in vain for the Fathers to answer, that, before any of them had appeared in this province, the Emperor Charles V. and Philip II, his successor to the throne of Spain, had issued very severe edicts to secure the liberty of the Indians; that they might remember, that, before Father Torrez entered Chili, Don Juan Perez, bishop of that diocese, had condemned, what they now deemed

deemed it a crime in that Father not to approve ; and that Don Juan had not given sentence in an affair of so much importance, till he had consulted all the men of learning and sense in that kingdom ; that, after all, it was well known, that not one of them had given the least room to suspect they thought otherwise than their provincial, in regard to the point in dispute.

THE minds of the inhabitants were too imbittered to yield to these reasons, though they could not answer them by any solid arguments ; and, what is still more surprizing, they found means to prejudice the bishop and all his clergy against those who advanced them. As no one, therefore, any longer took their defence, they were treated here, as their brethren had been before treated at Corduba ; their church was deserted ; their pensions stopt ; and the Indians hindered from seeing them. In short, they were pushed to such lengths, that they, at last, thought proper to withdraw themselves, and set out for St. Michael, as the inhabitants of that town had most earnestly entreated them to accept an establishment among them.

THERE had been, for a long time past, a dispute for preeminence between this town and that of Santiago, which was founded but three years after the first foundation of St. Michael ; for this last, as we have already seen, had changed its situation, in 1564. This translation had scarce taken place, when a powerful Cacique, called Gualan, having forced his way into the new town, massacred a great number of the inhabitants ; set fire to the houses ; and would have reduced them all to ashes, had not a sudden storm of lightening frightened the barbarians from their purpose. Some Spaniards who escaped destruction ; after extinguishing the flames, pursued the Indians ; killed their chief ; and made

made a great slaughter of the rest. This did not prevent the Calchaquis from making, afterwards, several attempts to ruin St. Michael ; but all equally miscarried.

ST. Michael, I said, stands exactly at the foot of the Cordilliere ; I must add, that it is scarce possible to find a town situated in a more fertile or agreeable country. Accordingly, its plains, and all its vallies ; in a word, all its district is covered with villas and farm houses, with orchards and gardens, that produce most of the fruits known in the old and new world. But this land of promise, as the Spaniards call it, was, for a long time, so terribly infested with tigers, that it was almost impossible, for a man not very well armed, to appear abroad, without falling a prey to these ravenous animals, long accustomed to live upon human flesh.

BEFORE the arrival of the Spaniards, all the employment of the Indians consisted in hunting them ; which they did in the following simple manner. The huntsman, taking a long stick, and holding it with both ends, presented it, in a horizontal direction to the first animal he met with, who never failed to seize it with his mouth. But, while the creature thus endeavoured to wrest it, or break it with his teeth and claws, the huntsman, by alternate jerks to the right and left, threw him down ; and then, before he could recover himself, plunged a knife into his belly, and ript him up to the throat. This, it is plain, required no small degree of dexterity and presence of mind ; and, accordingly, no man was esteemed among these Indians but in proportion to the number of tigers he had killed ; and this ambition to signalize themselves, blinded them in regard to the dangers attending so uncommon a manner of hunting.

THE inhabitants of St. Michael resembled greatly the happy climate under which they lived, being mild, and, as it were, pious by nature. They received the jesuits with an affection, which they have transmitted to their posterity; obliged them to accept of a college, of which the king afterwards approved the foundation; and listened to their exhortations with the greatest docility. This gave the fathers leisure enough to make some incursions among the Diaguites, the Lulles, and the Calchaquis; but, notwithstanding the good dispositions, in which they found great numbers of these Indians, they proved equally useless to them and to the Spaniards; many of the latter having, in spite of all the governor's endeavours to prevent it, carried off several of the Indians into slavery; even from under the eyes of the fathers, about whom they had gathered for instruction.

DURING these transactions in Tucuman, 1609. father Torrez, provincial of the jesuits, set out for the Conception; but the inhabitants of that place were so prejudiced against him and his brethren, that the governor of the province was obliged to interpose in order to procure him admittance. He soon, however, gained, by his behaviour, the esteem and confidence even of those, who had most violently opposed his entrance; and, after making the proper use of these favourable dispositions, set out for the Assumption, in consequence of some pressing letters from the bishop of Paraguay and Don Fernand Arias de Saavedra, governor of that province; and arrived there towards the close of the year 1609.

THE governor and bishop, it seems, had just received a letter from his catholic majesty, by which that prince gave them to understand, that it was his absolute pleasure that no attempt should be made to subdue the Indians of Paraguay, but
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by the sword of the word ; unless they first, without any provocation, committed hostilities against the Spaniards ; that, otherwise, none but missionaries should be employed to reduce them, as they, alone, could make them submit willingly to the Spanish yoke, by making them sensible of the advantages that would attend such submission ; that he did not want any forced homages ; that he did not even mean to deprive these people of their liberty ; but merely to rescue them from the savageness and libertinism in which they lived ; make them acquainted with the true God ; and engage them to adore him ; that he was very ready to admit them among the number of his subjects, but with no other view than that of making them happy ; and that he, above all things, forbid the Spaniards to make slaves of them.

In consequence of these orders, the prelate and the governor had agreed to engage Father Torrez to take upon him the conversion of the natives ; and it was in order to concert with him the properest measures for effecting it, that they had requested him to lose no time in repairing to the Assumption. Four or five years before this, Don Fernand had received from his majesty a letter pretty much in the same strain, but merely relating to the Guaranis, to whom this prince gave him orders to send immediately some pious, sensible, and zealous missionaries to compleat their instruction ; with leave to take from his treasury all the sums requisite to support such missionaries, and to enable them to make a solid establishment among these Indians, whom he, above all things, enjoined him to see treated in the mildest manner.

THE governor thought it his duty to, begin by the Guaranis nearest to the Assumption, among whom there were already several christians ; and,

therefore, engaged father Lewis de Bolanos, the most illustrious disciple of St. Francis Solano, to take on himself the execution of his majesty's intentions, with some other religious of his order. These missionaries, accordingly, had already brought together a great number of the Assumption Guaranis, and had formed of them a very flourishing church. It was at this time father de Bolanos composed the catechism, we have already mentioned. Don Martin Ignatius de Loyola, after causing it to be examined by the ablest divines, and the persons best versed in the Guarani language, of his whole diocese, approved it in a synod. Don Christopher Aresti, his successor, caused it to be again examined ; and not only approved it after this second scrutiny, but forbid the use of any other catechism in the Guarani language.

THERE is great reason to believe, that it was after the departure of father Bolanos for Peru, when his superiors had recalled him on account of his great age and infirmities, that the governor and bishop of Paraguay cast their eyes upon the jesuits to take charge of the Guaranis near the Assumption, and unite them with the Indians of the same name, whom father de Ortega and father Filds had converted in the province of Guayra. It is likewise probable, that father de Torrez, on his arrival at the Assumption, appointed to this mission father Joseph Cataldino, and father Simon Macerata, another Italian Jesuit ; but these fathers did not undertake it, till the bishop and governor had given them full power to form all their christians into towns ; to govern them without any dependence on the cities, fortresses, or other Spanish establishments, in whose neighbourhood they might settle ; build churches in all of them ; and oppose, in the king's name, all those who should,
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on any pretence whatsoever, endeavour to subject these new christians to any personal service.

WHEN father Cataldino and father Macerata arrived in Guayra, they found but two priests in the whole province; one at Villarica, and the other at Ciudad Real; both too ignorant and irregular to be of any service to either Spaniards or Indians. Accordingly, many of the Indians, who still retained their freedom, were baptized without instruction; and many, of those, whom the Spaniards had brought to yield them personal service, left without any baptism at all, though their masters never failed to give them all, without distinction, the names of saints; an abuse, which, in process of time, greatly perplexed the missionaries, well acquainted with their duty, and truly solicitous to comply with it.

AFTER some stay in these two places, in order to give the inhabitants that spiritual assistance which they had so long wanted, the two fathers prepared to pursue their design of settling in the center of the Guaranis, upon the Paranapané. But, before they could set out, a report happening to spread, that there was an order from the king not to give in command the Indians they were going to take charge of, the sentiments of esteem and confidence, of which the Spaniards had so lately given them the greatest proofs, immediately vanished. Upon this, the missionaries, thinking it best to clear up the affair, produced the orders they had received in writing, and the powers given them by the bishop and governor; and, at the same, undertook to make them sensible, how conformable these orders and powers were to the strictest equity and justice.

1610. "We do not mean, said they, to oppose those advantages you may draw from the Indians in a lawful manner; but you know it

never was the king's intention that you should consider them as slaves ; and that, besides, the law of God strictly forbids it. As to those we are commissioned to gain over to Jesus Christ, and upon whom you can have no claim, since they were never conquered by force of arms, our design is ; first, to labour to make them men, that we may be the better able to make them christians. We shall then endeavour to induce them, from a view to their own interest, to submit chearfully to the king our sovereign ; and hope, with God's blessing, our endeavours will be crowned with success. We do not think it lawful to make any attempt upon their liberties, to which they have a natural and incontestible right ; but we will endeavour to make them sensible, that they render their freedom prejudicial to themselves by making a bad use of it ; and to teach them to restrain it within just bounds. We flatter ourselves with being able to make them discover such great advantages in that dependance, in which all civilized nations live, and in yielding obedience to a prince, who only desires to be their protector and their father, and procure them the inestimable blessing of knowing the true God, that they will submit to the yoke with joy, and bless the day they became his subjects."

THEY, in the next place, undertook to persuade the inhabitants, that, if they understood their own interest, instead of opposing this project, they would exert themselves to make it succeed, since it was the only way to prevent the total depopulation of a country, in which it was impossible for them to subsist, without the assistance of the natives to cultivate it. They asked them, what was become of those thousands of Indians, who had disappeared since the first discovery of Paraguay ; and what other cause could be assigned for so great a depopulation, but the inhuman manner, in which these poor people had been treated,

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But they soon discovered, that they were speaking to men, who did not chuse to be undeceived ; and, therefore, no longer thought of any thing but the means of hastening their departure. And, as they could expect no guides from the inhabitants of Villarica, where they met with all this opposition, they applied for some to the Cacique of the place where they intended to make their first establishment.

THE honest Cacique came himself to conduct them ; but how great must have been his surprize, when, on his first appearance in the town, the Spaniards loaded him with irons, and threw him into prison ! He did not, however, remain there long, as the two missionaries threatened to complain, of so scandalous a breach of hospitality and common justice, to the governor and the bishop, and even his majesty, if they could not otherwise obtain redress. They then set out with their guide, and, after travelling by land as far as the Paranapané, embarked on the river. Paranapané, in the language of the country, signifies *River of Misfortune* ; but we are not told how it came to be called so. This river issues from the mountains of Brazil, and is reinforced by the waters of several others, of which the most considerable are the *Pirapé* and *Tabaxiva*. Its banks are covered with a great variety of trees, especially cedars of such an enormous thickness, and so stupendous a height, that one single trunk may be converted into a twenty oar pirogue.

THE two fathers remounted the Paranapané to the mouth of the Pirapé, where they met two hundred Guarani families baptized by the Fathers de Ortega and Filds, whom they formed into a town, by the name of the *Loretto*. These Indian churches have been since called *Reductions*, a name usually given in Peru to all the christian towns formed among the infidels, and governed by regular priests,

priests ; and this name is still in use. Loretto was the first in Paraguay to which it was given. As to the name of Loretto in particular, none could be more suitable to a town, which has proved the cradle of the now so flourishing christian republic of the Guaranis. The fathers then made a progress of eighty leagues, in which they found twenty three little villages, where there were already several christians, and where the reputation the jesuits had acquired, of being very zealous to defend the liberty of the Indians, in a short time disposed all the rest of the inhabitants to receive the gospel. The servants of God represented to them, how much it was their interest to unite together, as, while they continued scattered up and down the country in so many little straggling villages, it would be impossible for them to defend their freedom, or get instruction.

THESE representations began to work upon the minds of the Indians, when the fathers saw all their expectations on the point of being blasted by the avarice of a false brother. An inhabitant of Ciudad Real having offered to accompany them in this expedition, they chearfully accepted his offer, as they were not as yet thorough masters of the Guarani language, which he understood and spoke perfectly well. But he had his own views in so doing; and, the better to succeed in them, affected, in the beginning, the greatest disinterestedness. The fathers, however, could not help being surprized at his never returning to their common cabin without wanting some article or another of his little baggage, and, even, of his clothes ; but they kept their minds to themselves, till one day, on his returning with nothing on but a pair of drawers, they could no longer refrain from asking him how he came to be stript in that manner ; when he made the following answer, “ You preach one way, fathers,

thers ; and I, another. You have the gift of eloquence, with which God has not been pleased to favour me ; but I endeavour to supply the want of it by my works. I have distributed every thing I brought with me among the principal Indians of the country, from a persuasion, that, when I shall have gained the heads by my liberality, it will be the easier for you to gain the rest ; and I believe the work is already in great forwardness."

THE fathers made no doubt of his having, in good earnest, made away with his clothes for that charitable purpose ; and began to be somewhat concerned, that their poverty disabled them from following his example. Some time after this, the Spaniard told them, that, as he was no longer necessary to them, seeing they could explain themselves in the language of the country well enough to be understood without an interpreter, he begged they would not be offended at his leaving them to return home. They answered, that he was at liberty to do as he thought proper ; and gave him a great many thanks for his good offices ; but he had scarce turned his back, when they discovered, that he had parted with nothing but to buy women and children, and was about carrying them away as slaves ; and that the Indians suspected them of having had a share, underhand, in this infamous commerce. It cost them no small time and trouble to remove the suspicions of these poor people. But they at last did it so effectually, that most of them repaired to Loretto.

THE accession of such numbers having rendered this town rather too populous, a Cacique, called *Atycaya*, made a proposal to the inhabitants of forming another, a league and a half further up the country ; and they all cheerfully consented to it. This second reduction was called *Saint Ignatius*. It was soon found necessary to form two more, for
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the reception of profelytes; and they peopled so fast, that the two Jesuits immediately formed the project of a christian republic, which might, in the heart of this barbarous country, revive the happiest days of primitive christianity.

THOSE, who first conceived the idea of this important undertaking, and those who first approved their views, thought it highly improper to set about so arduous a task, till they had made all those, on whom they depended, equally sensible, how necessary it was in order to establish christianity upon a solid foundation among these people; and, likewise, what great advantages might reasonably be expected from this method. They, therefore, represented to his catholic majesty, in his council of the Indies; and to the governor and bishop of Paraguay, that the Jesuits, having taken great pains, since their arrival in the country, to find out what had retarded the progress of the gospel among so many nations, and why there even remained such slight traces of the great conversions formerly made among them, imagined they had discovered two principal causes of so deplorable a misfortune; the first, that the Spaniards rendered the christian religion odious to the natives of the country, by the manner in which they behaved, even towards those who had sincerely embraced it; the second, that while the ministers of the gospel were endeavouring to convince the infidels of its holiness, several of those who openly professed it, so far from following its maxims, dishonoured it by a licentious life, and discredited it by the most crying acts of injustice; whence they concluded, that, before they undertook to convert these Indians to the faith, it was absolutely necessary to authorize them to secure all those they were sent to, from the tyranny and bad example of the old christians.

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BUT, as the first suspicions, the Spaniards conceived of this design of the missionaries, had exasperated a great number of them against these fathers, though they solemnly declared, that they had no Indians in view, but such as had not been yet reduced; or such as had entirely thrown off the yoke, and the Spaniards could have no hopes of putting it on again; they were obliged to add, that they would take upon them to engage all the Indians, that should submit to their conduct, to acknowledge his catholic majesty for their sovereign, and swear the most unlimited obedience to him, as a much more solid and equitable manner of making conquests than that of arms; and, at the same time, much more beneficial, since the old subjects could not be either lessened or impoverished by it.

PHILIP III approved the proposal, and authorized it by rescripts, which all his successors have confirmed. But it was easy to foresee, that such a privilege would inevitably subject the missionaries who had obtained it, to many contradictions from those, with whose avarice it interfered; so that, how great soever their courage must have been so readily to expose themselves to hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and even the most cruel death; and all merely with a view of civilizing and converting the most cruel and stupid savages; it must have been still greater, to bear the severest persecutions and the most atrocious calumnies, even from the domestics of the faith and their countrymen; and, what was worse; the risk of seeing, as it has often happened, the labours of several years destroyed, perhaps in a few hours; and yet be always ready to begin again with redoubled ardour.

As soon as the two missionaries had established tolerable order in the four reductions I just now mentioned, by regulations suited to the capacity of the

the inhabitants, they began to find it necessary to take some measures for enabling the new christians to engage, with equal arms, a nest of desperadoes, who were no less the enemies of the Spaniards ; and the measures they took succeeded so well, that, for more than an age past, instead of being attacked themselves, they have always been in the hands of their fellow subjects the Spaniards, the securest barrier against their enemies ; and in those of their common sovereign, a most faithful militia to keep within bounds his other subjects ; and all at the first notice without receiving any consideration from either. But, we may very well imagine, that so fine an establishment could attain, only by degrees, that point of perfection, at which I am now going to represent it, on the faith of the most authentic testimonies *.

It is an error, (not committed, however, by any of those, who have examined with their own eyes what passes in this christian republic, and who are most concerned not to suffer themselves to be imposed upon,) that the Jesuits are so much the masters there, that the Neophytes acknowledge no authority but theirs. The countenance this error has met with, almost every where, and still meets with among a certain class of people, can only be attributed to the resentment of some private persons, on not being able to obtain, that these christians should be given in command, like all the other new christians of Paraguay. The truth is, that the kings of Spain have not only always had as much authority in all the reductions, as in any other part of their empire in America, but that

* Doctor Francis Xarque, in his eighth book. M. Muratori, in his *Christianismo felice*. Don Antonio Ulloa, in his voyage to south America. The decree of Philip V. dated the 28th of december, 1743 ; and the letters of several bishops and governors, who visited them.

they no where have more dutiful subjects, or subjects who more punctually execute their orders, than the Indians who compose them.

THEIR submission is even so much the less to be suspected, as it is quite voluntary, and founded entirely on principles of religion, and such a regard to their own welfare as was never judged to clash with it. Their missionaries, in proportion as they formed them into towns, after drawing them from their woods and mountains, and made them open their eyes to the light of the gospel, never failed to invite them to declare themselves subjects, or vassals, as the catholic kings express it in their rescripts, of the crown of Spain, by shewing them that it was their duty in gratitude so to do, and the only sure method of securing their liberty, and those new blessings with which they began to be acquainted. I need not observe, that, to obtain this point from barbarians accustomed not to acknowledge any authority upon earth, not even that of their Caciques, but just as far as it suited their own humour, it was necessary to dispose them by degrees, for such a sacrifice; and that their acquiescence, after all, must have been in a great measure the fruit of that love and confidence, their fathers in Jesus Christ found means to acquire among them, by sacrificing themselves on every occasion to defend their interests. \

THE war which these Indians, in a short time after their conversion, had to support against the Portuguese of Brazil, obliged their pastors to proceed a step further. The impossibility, in which these fathers saw them, to hold out against so powerful an enemy, authorized them to suggest to their converts, that, in order to make it the interest of the king of Spain to spare nothing to protect them, it was requisite, that, instead of confining themselves to a simple declaration of vassallage,

fallage, they should take an oath of unlimited obedience to him, which they need not fear his majesty would every abuse to oppress them, since he had declared, that he intended to consider them less as his vassals, than as his children; and they cheerfully consented to the proposal. As long, however, as the war lasted, it was not consistent with policy or justice, considering their great poverty, and the extremities to which they were often reduced, to speak to them of any tribute; and, accordingly, none was mentioned to them till the year 1649, when Philip IV. having honoured them with the title of his most faithful vassals, and added to this favour the greatest marks of confidence, by declaring them the barrier of Paraguay against Brazil, lately detached from the crown of Spain in consequence of the revolution of Portugal; and against the Indian nations, enemies to the Spaniards. Then, indeed, his majesty, after renewing the privilege which exempted them from every service but his own, and from the tribute paid by the other Indians, required, that, for the future, the men from eighteen to fifty, and they only should pay a crown a head *. It was the Count of Salvatierra, viceroy of Peru, that regulated this tribute by his majesty's orders. After all, we are not judge of their loyalty and public spirit by this tribute. The services which they have been since constantly rendering, and of which we shall often have occasion to speak in the course of this history, and those they still continue to render, to their sovereign and his Spanish subjects, without receiving any pay, consideration, or even subsistence, are such, as, when justly estimated, greatly exceed the tribute exacted from any other vassals of the Spanish dominions.

* *Un peso de ocho reales.*

ALL these regulations were again confirmed, in 1663, by a decree of the same prince Philip IV, who ordered, that the pensions allowed out of the royal treasury, for the support of a missionary in each reduction, should be paid out of this tribute; for, when there are two in a reduction, which is often the case, and almost always necessary, the second is supported by his brethren of the province, as are likewise the two general superiors of the missionaries, one of whom resides in the reductions of the Parana, and the other in those of the Uruguay. In 1711, Philip V, before whom there had been laid a long memorial, in which the smallness of this tribute, compared with that of the other Indians, being five crowns a head, was greatly insisted upon, forbid, notwithstanding, any alteration to be made in the regulations already established. Nay, his majesty, on being told by some busy courtier, that this slight tribute was not exactly paid, knowing the insinuation to be false, not only recommended, in the strongest terms, the Indians of the reductions to Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, whom he, in the year 1616, appointed governor of Rio de la Plata, but charged him to give them his royal word, that he would never require any greater acknowledgment from them.

IN two decrees of Philip IV, dated in 1650 and 1652, the reductions, we are speaking of, are declared *Doctrines*. This is a name given, in Spanish America, to the cures or parishes, according to the strict meaning of that word; and the royal audience of Charcas is likewise ordered to cause to be observed in these doctrines the right of royal patronage. This right, however, did not take place in them, till the year 1654, when there issued a third decree, by which his majesty declared, that, for the future, these very reductions should be on
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the same footing with the other doctrines; that the provincial of the Jesuits, or, in his absence, the superior of the missions, each in his respective department, should present, at the departure or death of any missionary, three Jesuits to the governor of the province, who, in quality of vicepatron, was to chuse one of them; and that, if the Jesuits should refuse to submit to this regulation, then the governor, in conjunction with the bishop of the diocese, might name to these cures other secular or regular priests.

BUT I must observe, that this regulation was made in the most critical circumstances, that the jesuits ever found themselves in since their first establishment in Paraguay. All Spain, and even all Europe, swarmed with the most shocking memorials against these missionaries, which were dispersed by the partizans of Don Bernardin de Cárdenas, bishop of the Assumption; and one of the charges, which this prelate and his solicitor at the court of Spain brought against them, with the greatest confidence, was, that, in their new reductions, they, to the utmost of their power, defrauded the king's revenue. This accusation the jesuits answered in a very satisfactory manner, as soon as the general terms, in which it was conceived, would admit. Besides, the nobleman, who then presided in the council of the Indies, happened to be their enemy; and it was this circumstance, more than any other, that gave occasion to the three decrees, now mentioned.

IN the two first of these pieces, which were addressed to the royal audience of Charcas, the king left the provincial of the jesuits at liberty to change the parish priests, as often as he thought proper, without being so much as obliged to give his reasons for so doing; but on the same condition of proposing to the governor three other jesuits to replace

place him ; and the royal audience having communicated these orders to the governor of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, in which the Reductions are situated, these officers gave notice of it to the provincial of the jesuits, who chearfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure.

THOSE, who had brought upon the jesuits these marks of his majesty's diffidence, little expected they would so readily and respectfully submit to them ; for they were meant as a snare to surprize the loyalty of these fathers, who were too wise to give in to it. They knew full well, and we shall see manifold proofs of it in the course of this history, that had they answered by saying, as they might without exposing themselves to be contradicted, that it was against their institute to possess lay cures, their Reductions would have been speedily deserted ; they did not even make any representations on the occasion ; but their prompt submission had a greater effect, than could be expected from the strongest. They are not wanting in any thing they owe to the governors of the provinces and bishops of the dioceses, in which they have any Indians under their care, " but as among the three persons, (says Don Antonio de Ulloa, in his voyage to South America, Vol. ii. B. i. Chap. 15.) recommended on such occasions to the governor, there will of consequence be one, whose virtues and talents render him most fit for the office ; and, as no better judges of this can be supposed, than the provincials of the order, the governor and bishop have receded from their undoubted rights ; and the provincials always collate and prefer those whose merits are most conspicuous." It is not, therefore, surprizing, if we find the word *Reduction* as often used, as ~~that~~ of doctrine, in the last schedules and rescripts of the kings of Spain.

I HAVE already insinuated, that there are generally two jesuits in every town. The second is almost always a missionary newly arrived from Europe, or a young priest, who has just finished his studies in the university of Corduba. He, at once, acts as vicar under the parish priest, and learns to speak the Indian language. It is even sometimes found requisite to have a third priest; as, for example, when any epidemical sickness rages in a town; a thing that often happens, and without which this republick would be twice more populous. On these occasions, the Reductions are no better than large hospitals; and two priests would never be able to visit the sick, administer the sacraments to them, and bury the dead. But, whatever the number of priests may be, there reigns among them the most perfect subordination. The parish priest is constantly the superior; and, as he has always about him six children destined for the service of the church, his house looks like a little convent, where every thing is done by sound of bell. Himself, though established in the king's name, depends, in all things, on the superior of the mission, who is constantly employed in visiting the parishes under his care; and on his provincial, whose visits are likewise regular, so that Don Antonio de Ulloa has not said too much, in representing all these missionaries as composing one single and well regulated family.

THE fathers, on their side, repay these testimonies of esteem and affection by a perpetual flow of more than paternal tenderness, "The most laborious part, (says Don Antonio de Ulloa,) of the duty belonging to the priests, is to visit, personally, the chacaras or plantations of the Indians; and in this they are remarkably sedulous, in order to prevent the ill consequences of that slothful disposition so natural to the Guaranis, who, were they not fre-

frequently roused and stimulated by the presence of the priest, would abandon their work, or, at least perform it in a very superficial manner. He also attends at the public slaughter house, where, every day, they kill some of the cattle; large herds of which are kept for the public use by the Indians. The flesh of these beasts is dealt out by the priests, proportionable to the number of persons each family consists of, so that every one has a sufficiency to supply the calls of nature, but nothing for waste. He also visits the sick, to see that they want for nothing, and are attended with that care and tenderness their condition requires. These charitable employments take up so great a part of the day, as often to leave him no time for assisting the father coadjutor in the services of the church."

THE number of reductions is, at present, thirty, of which the thirteen, nearest to the Parana are within the diocese of the Assumption. They were within the government of Paraguay, till the year 1726, when, for reasons I shall mention hereafter, Philip V. directed provisionally and till further orders, that they should be under the jurisdiction of the governor of Rio de la Plata. Some time after this, the governors not only gave the Neophytes some uneasiness in regard to their tribute; but strenuously solicited the king to increase it. But his majesty, far from complying with their representations, issued a decree dated the 28th of December 1743, to forbid any addition to be made to it. He even declared, that he forgave the Neophytes the sums they might then happen to owe his treasury; and gave orders to inform them, that it was to acknowledge their loyalty, and their important services, he granted them this indulgence.

THESE services, which we shall likewise speak of, as occasion offers, added to what the Spaniards

are often exposed to suffer from the unconquered or revolted Indians, are a proof, which, from day to day, becomes more glaring, that it was the interest of all the Europeans to treat the people of America in the same manner, in which the jesuits of Paraguay have treated them, though they have been often charged with it, and even persecuted for it, as a capital crime. But what proves still better, the inveteracy with which their designs have been traversed, is, that while the Indians, under other religious and some secular priests, were exempt from paying tythes to their bishops, the jesuits alone were attacked on that score. An edict was even obtained, in 1694, by which they were ordered to pay them. But the chapter of the Assumption, having represented to the council, that no tythes had ever been required from the other Indians, though better able to pay them, the council voted, that it would be, perhaps, dangerous to insist upon their compliance. In process of time, however, some persons were for having Don Joseph Paralta, bishop of Buenos Ayres, exact the tithes of the seventeen reductions within his diocese; but this prelate very prudently answered, that it was impossible for him to think of loading them with any such burden, as long as he had ocular demonstration of their being no way able to support it.

It is not to be doubted, but that the interior government of the reductions depends chiefly upon the missionaries. The limited understanding of their Neophytes requires, that they should enter into all their affairs, and direct them in their temporal as well as in their spiritual concerns. Every town, however, has the same officers of justice and of police with the spanish towns; a corregidor, regidores, and alcades, all chosen by the Indians themselves with the assistance of their missionaries; but afterwards confirmed by the su-

supreme governor of the province. As, however, there is no laying any great stress on the capacity of these officers, they are not permitted to decide any thing of importance, and much less inflict any punishment, without the approbation of their pastors. The punishments, after all, consist in nothing but prayers, fasting, confinement, and sometimes whipping; these Neophytes committing no faults that deserve any severer animadversion. Before confinement, care is taken to make them sensible of their faults in the mildest manner; a task no way difficult, considering the goodness of their disposition. Accordingly, not one of them has ever been known to prove refractory under it, or express the least resentment against his judges. "Indeed the love and veneration, says Don Antonio Ulloa, the Indians pay their pastors, are so great, that could they be guilty of enjoining an unjust punishment, the suffering party would impute it to his own demerits, being firmly persuaded that the priests never do any thing without a sufficient reason." To conclude, there is in every town a Cacique, who is, as it were, the governor in chief; but he attends to little, but military affairs. He is, however, exempt from tribute, as is likewise his eldest son.

It has been judged requisite to use the greatest precautions, to hinder these new christians from having any correspondence with the Spaniards; so that no Spaniards are permitted to enter their towns, but such as wait on the bishop and governor. The necessity of this precaution, besides being proved by experience, must appear to any one who has the least opportunity of considering the wide difference between these Neophytes, and those in whose favour it has not been observed. The missionary fathers will not now allow, says Don Antonio de Ulloa, any of the inhabitants of Peru to

converse with their Indians, the decline of some of the latter, from their primitive happiness and piety being found to proceed entirely from too open an intercourse between them and the latter.

NAY, their pastors have, as yet, in a manner, hindered them from speaking spanish, barely teaching the children, in general, to read and write in that language; and those alone are taught to read and write the latin, who are destined to sing in the churches; but, whatever they are applied to, they take it up in a surprizing manner. To hear them read these languages, one would imagine they understood them perfectly well; and as to writing them, they copy manuscripts in them without a single fault, and in a very fine hand. There is actually a very large one of their copying at Madrid, which would do honour to the best copiers of Europe, both in point of beauty and exactness. The motive which hindered the missionaries from going greater lengths with them, was, that they never left home, on any military expedition, or to carry on the king's works, without a missionary to serve them, not only as chaplain, but likewise as interpreter. Besides, their manners could hardly escape corruption, were they to communicate with the Spaniards. Philip V, however, fearing that this reserve might be interpreted to the disadvantage of the jesuits, ordered, by his decree of the 20th of December 1743, that they should be all taught to speak spanish. But, considering their great reluctance to learn this language, the execution of his majesty's orders will, it is probable, be attended with very great difficulties.

WE have already often observed, that these Indians are, by nature, of a very limited capacity, and understand nothing, but what immediately falls under the senses. This dullness of apprehension appeared to the first missionaries, to fall little short of downright stupidity; and they, accordingly, remained

mained in suspense for some time, whether it was proper to administer to them any sacrament, but that of baptism. But, being too wise to decide for themselves in an affair of so much consequence, they consulted the bishops of Peru assembled in council at Lima ; and received for answer, that they should be very cautious how they admitted them to the other sacraments. It soon, however, plainly appeared, that the interior master, who gives understanding, when he pleases, to infants, communicated himself in a sensible manner to these new christians. And, perhaps, there never appeared a more convincing proof, that our holy religion is the only true one ; since, at the same time that it implants in the heart the most noble and elevated sentiments, it proportionably opens and improves the understanding.

THEY succeed, as it were by instinct, in all the arts, to which they are applied ; but, then, they have been applied to such only, as were thought requisite to exempt them from the necessity of having recourse to foreign assistance. As yet, they have not discovered any talent for invention ; but they were soon observed to possess that of imitation in a sovereign degree. It is enough, for example, to shew them a crucifix, a candlestick, a censer ; and give them materials for making others. They copy them so well, that it is no easy matter to distinguish their work from the pattern. They have been known to make, on bare inspection, the most intricate organs ; as also astronomical spheres, turkey carpets, and other most curious manufactures. They engrave upon brass, after giving it a due polish, all the figures traced before them. They have naturally a just air, and an uncommon taste for musick ; and touch, as well as make, to admiration, all sorts of musical instruments. Father Cattaneo, whom I have already cited, assures

us, that he has seen a child not more than twelve perform on the harp, with a sure and easy hand, the most difficult anthems of Bologna. They have, besides, a sweet and sonorous pipe, which, according to what I have already said, is attributed to the waters of their rivers. These uncommon talents for music engaged the missionaries to establish choirs in all their churches; experience having shewn, that nothing contributes more to inspire them with devotion; give them a strong liking to divine service; and make them more readily comprehend the instructions proper for them, which, for this purpose, have been all set to musick.

THIS natural taste for musick was, likewise, of great service in helping to people the first Reductions. For the jesuits, having observed in their journeys by water, that, as soon as, to recreate themselves in an innocent and holy manner, they began to sing any spiritual canticle, crowds of Indians flocked to the banks, and seemed to take a particular liking to their musick, they improved the opportunity to explain to them the subject of their songs; when, as if the melody had changed their hearts, and rendered them susceptible of the sentiments, with which the fathers longed to inspire them, they easily prevailed on the poor creatures to follow them; and gradually insinuated into their hearts the most elevated sentiments of religion; thus realizing in these savage countries, what fable relates of Amphion and Orpheus.

EVERY Reduction has two schools. In one, the children learn to read and write; in the other, to dance, sing, and play upon all the instruments permitted to be used in divine service, which they do, like the birds, as it were by instinct. Don Antonio de Ulloa says, that some of them are taught latin, and learn it very well; but, I believe, all their knowledge of it consists in reading and pronouncing it correctly. Father Cattaneo was surprized,

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at his arrival at Buenos Ayres, to see a young Neophyte ascend the pulpit in the refectory of the college there, in order to read in meal time ; but more so, to hear him read both the latin and spanish languages, as well as if he was perfectly well acquainted with both.

THERE are, every where, workshops for gilders, painters, and sculptors ; gold, silver, and other smiths ; clockmakers, carpenters, joiners, weavers, and founders ; in a word, for all the arts and trades, that can be useful to them. As soon as the children are old enough to begin to work, they are taken to these workshops, and applied to the business which they express the greatest liking for, from a persuasion, that art is to be guided by nature. Their first masters were lay brother jesuits, sent for on purpose to instruct them. Sometimes, the fathers themselves have been obliged to drive the plow, and handle the spade, to initiate them in husbandry ; and engage them, by their example, to cultivate the earth ; to sow and to reap. To conclude, these Neophytes have built, after designs furnished them by the jesuits, such churches, as would not disgrace the greatest cities in Spain or Peru, either in regard to the beauty of their structure, or the richness and good taste of their sacred vessels and ornaments of every kind.

THIS is not the case with their houses. For a great many years, nothing could be more mean and simple, being built with canes covered with plaister ; without window or chimney ; without seats or beds ; in a manner, without any furniture. The whole family sat on the floor ; and lay in hammocks, which were not to be seen in the day time ; the smoke of the fires, which they made in the center of their cabins, had no issue, nor the light of the sun any entrance, but by the door. At present, their houses are as convenient,

nient, as neat, and as well furnished, as those of the common Spaniards. They have even begun to build them with stone and cover them with tile.

THE work of the women is regulated as well as that of the men. It consists chiefly in spinning. The begining of every week, every woman receives a certain quantity of wool and cotton, which she must return, the saturday night following, ready for the loom. They are, likewise, now and then, put to certain country labours, which do not surpass their strength and capacity.

THE trade these Indians carry on, to procure what their country does not afford, consists chiefly in wild wax and honey; and the herb of Paraguay, of which they have every where made plantations; the sale of it being certain, as no one in this country can do without it. I said, that the first plants of this vegetable were brought from the canton of Maracayu, where the best kind of it grows naturally; but they have degenerated very little in the reductions. This trade is sufficiently explained in the decree of Philip V, which I have already so often cited. Some persons have censured the manner of carrying it on, though every circumstance of it is authorized by the sovereign, who plainly saw how indispensably necessary it was for the preservation of this republick.

WE shall see, in its place, what reasons the missionaries had for asking for their Neophytes, and the kings of Spain for granting them, the use of fire arms. This privilege was, in fact, absolutely necessary to prevent their falling into the most cruel slavery; or being dispersed over the woods and mountains; and that too, without being sure of escaping the hands of their inveterate pursuers. I may even venture to affirm, that the kings of Spain, and their spanish subjects, are those, who
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reap, at present, the greatest benefit from this indulgence. though the latter, from principles of self interest, omitted nothing to have it repealed; so that, for many years together, the royal council of the Indies was more taken up with discussions about it, than with any other business relating to the Spanish dominions in America. But the interest of the state, joined to that of religion, prevailed at last. Philip V. thoroughly persuaded, that it is more the interest of the missionaries than of any others, to hinder their Neophytes from abusing this liberty of being constantly well armed, confines himself, in his decree of the 28th of December 1743, to the recommending to the provincial of the jesuits, to deliberate with his brethren on the means of preventing any inconveniencies that might be apprehended from it; ordering him, in case there should appear the least sign of any tendency to an insurrection, to give early notice of it to the council, and let them know what measures it may be proper to take to prevent a surprize. But there is so much the less reason to apprehend any thing like a revolt among the Neophytes, that their happiness and security depend entirely on their loyalty, which nothing but an attempt upon their liberties can impair; and none, certainly, but the enemies of the king, or of the state, can possibly think of making any such attempt.

SEVERAL persons imagine, that, in this republick, there is no private property; but that, every week, each family receives the necessary food; and, from time to time, the other necessary articles for their subsistence. Some such regulation might possibly have existed, when those Indians, but newly united, were not in a capacity to procure themselves, by their labours a certain and regular supply of the necessaries of life; nor well established in places of sufficient security. But,
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in process of time, and especially, since they have been no longer exposed to the danger of being obliged to remove from place to place, there has been assigned to every family a piece of land, sufficient, if properly cultivated, to supply it with the necessities of life; for, as to superfluities, they are, as yet, strangers to them. And, considering their natural disposition, and the manner in which they are brought up, there is all the reason in the world to hope, they will ever continue so. The missionaries, indeed, know the full amount of what their lands produce. It is the same thing in regard to their commerce, which cannot be carried on but under the eyes of those, who are most concerned carefully to inspect it.

ALL the lands of the country, where the Reductions are situated, are not equally good for the same things. In those, which lie nearest the tropicks, as the environs of the Parana for example, there is plenty of honey, wax, maiz, and cotton; those more to the South yield wool, hemp, and wheat; and abound, besides, in good pastures. The woods and the rivers are every where well stocked with game. Barter supplies the deficiencies of nature. Gold and silver shines nowhere but on the altars. But, besides these spots of ground, that have been given in fee to every father of a family, and which are cleared in proportion as the Reductions become more populous, there are some that belong to the community, and the produce of which is deposited in the publick magazines against unforeseen accidents; for the repairs of the churches, and every thing relating to divine worship; for the support of widows, and orphans, the sick and the infirm, those employed in the service of the altar, or commanded to any distance, to serve his majesty in a civil or military capacity; for the maintenance of the Caciques, corregidores,

regidors and other civil and military officers ; for the poor, whatever the cause of their poverty may be ; to supply the deficiencies of bad crops, even for other towns ; for the Indians, in all their necessities, assist each other to the best of their power. The surplus, if there happens to be any, is added to the goods to be sold for paying the king's tribute, and purchasing such military stores as the king does not supply them with ; and, in a word, gold, silver, copper, iron, and steel, for the construction of arms and the decoration of their altars.

THE Reductions are pretty large ; the streets of them quite strait, and the houses uniform. In the center of every Reduction there is a square, which the church faces, and likewise the arsenal, in which all the arms and ammunition are laid up. Here the Indians exercise every week ; for there are, in every town, two companies of militia, whose officers have, according to their respective ranks ; very handsome uniforms laced with gold and silver, but they never wear them except when they exercise or take the field. The civil officers have, likewise, proper habits to distinguish them. As to the common dress, it consists, for the men, in a waistcoat and breeches, very like those worn by the Spaniards ; and above all a frock of white cloth, which reaches below the knee. This frock, is sometimes, made of a coloured cloth ; and is then a mark of distinction allowed only to merit. The women's dress consists in a shift without sleeves, that reaches to the feet, and over it a gown somewhat loose and flowing. But when employed in the fields, they wear nothing but the former. When they carry any burden, they tie it to the two ends of a broad strap, which they pass over the forehead like the women among the savages of Canada. Both men and women go bare legged, bare footed and bare headed. The women's hair serves them for a veil.

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THE missionaries have their houses next to the church. The store houses, workshops, and granaries for containing the produce of the common grounds, which are always cultivated at the common expence, stand all upon the same line. In the Reductions situated at a great distance from spanish towns or navigable rivers, iron and steel are so scarce, that the Indians are often obliged to make their tools of stone, or of wood hardened by fire. Their bell metal they get from Coquimbo, a town of Chili, where they purchase it in exchange for such of their commodities as they can there find a vent for. Not only those who carry on this traffick, but in general all those who go with any goods for sale from the Reductions to the spanish settlements, are defrayed by, and have likewise their lands cultivated at the expence of, the publick. As to the produce of those goods, it is well known; the rates being all fixed, so as to admit of no imposition or dispute.

In spite of this police, and all the measures taken to prevent any one wanting the necessaries of life, the missionaries find it a very difficult task to make all things answer. This is owing to three failings in their Neophytes, which they have not as yet been able to correct; namely, their little foresight, their laziness, and their want of œconomy, in consequence of which they often come short of seed for their lands. On this occasion there is an absolute necessity for assisting them; but then they are obliged to return, after harvest, a quantity of grain equal to that lent them to procure it. As to other provisions, if the missionaries did not keep a very watchful eye over them, they would, in a little time, not have a morsel to eat. This is likewise owing to so insatiable an appetite, that, a few moments after they have stuffed their bellies, they are ready for a new meal. Nay, the missionaries,
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at first, could not so much as leave to their discretion the bullocks employed in agriculture, lest, through laziness they should leave them unyoked, when their work was over; and even tear them to pieces, and devour them, as it has often happened; when their being hungry was all the excuse that could be got out of them.

THIS has obliged the missionaries to appoint overseers who visit every place exactly, to see if the Indians mind their business, and keep their cattle in good order; and have a power to punish them, when they find them in fault, which seldom happens at present. Besides, when it does, they readily confess their guilt and submit to the sentence pronounced on them. All their faults are the faults of children; and, indeed, they continue children, in many respects, all their lives; but then it is with all the good qualities peculiar to that age. In spite, however, of all the precautions we have been speaking of, the missionaries often find it necessary to have recourse to other expedients, to enable several families to hold out to the end of the year; no beggary being tolerated in this republick, for fear of introducing theft, and encouraging laziness. The surest method hitherto found out, to correct this last failing, is to condemn the delinquent to cultivate the reserved lands, of which we have spoken, and which are called *God's possession or inheritance*; but then, as such workmen are not to be depended upon, care is taken to associate with them others of known diligence. The fathers of families are likewise obliged to send their children there very early, in order to form and inure them to labour. Every child's task is adjusted to his strength; and there is no pardon for those who do not perform it.

ONE of the greatest advantages derived from this police is, that it keeps every one employed. It
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maintains, besides, not only in every town, but through the whole republick, so perfect an union, that strangers cannot help observing it at first sight. There are no quarrels or law suits to be seen here ; *mine and yours* are unknown words ; because, it is, in fact, to have no exclusive property ; to be always ready to divide the little one has, with those that want it ; and to have one's attention as much, and sometimes even more, taken up with the concerns of others, than ones own. It is thus, the authors of this establishment have made the very failings of these Indians contribute to procure them the greatest blessings of society, and the constant practice of the first of all christian virtues, which is charity. There is but one thing still wanting to compleat their happiness, and that is, an hospital and a good dispensary for medicines, in every town, or at least in every canton ; such as are to be met among the *Moxes*, where the jesuits of Peru have formed a republick on the model of that of the Guaranis. But these fathers found resources for this purpose, which are not to be expected in Paraguay, where there are no opulent persons, and the Spaniards, besides, have no great affection for Indians, who depend immediately on the sovereign, and serve only the state.

WHAT contributes still more to maintain among these new christians that surprizing harmony we have mentioned, is the subordination and good understanding that prevails among their spiritual governors. Those, who have hitherto had the immediate conduct of this flock gathered together by their labours, never considered themselves, in any station whatsoever, otherwise, than as the instruments of the bishops in whose diocese they labour ; so that every thing published against them on this head has fallen, of itself, to the ground ; or has been unanswerably refuted by the most holy pre-

prelates, the province of Paraguay, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, ever enjoyed. These missionaries never took any steps to enter upon this great work, or bring it to perfection, but with the consent, and by the authority, of their bishops; and never affected any independence in the exercise of their functions. They never used the privileges granted to them by the holy see, but in the same manner, in which other religious most submissive to their bishops, every where use them. They have even been more reserved. For, though the kings of Spain had authorized them to establish Reductions wherever they thought proper, and govern such Reductions under the direction of their superiors, they never made any difficulty to resign their places to any other pastors the bishops were pleased to appoint, though they knew, their departure would be followed by the dispersion of their flock, as it has often happened.

THE bishops seldom visit the Reductions, especially those of the diocese of Buenos Ayres, because they lie at a great distance from that city. These journeys, besides, are very fatiguing; very dangerous; and attended with greater expence, than these prelates, whose revenues are very scanty, can well afford, though defrayed, in a great measure, by the Indians themselves. It is well known, however, that it is not the fault, either of these Indians, or their missionaries, that these visits are not oftener repeated. On the contrary, they have been several times obliged to apply for them in the most earnest manner, and for a long time together, before they could obtain them. The Indians solicit them, to have the comfort of seeing their bishop, and for fear of being deprived of the sacrament of confirmation; the pastors, because they always increase the fervor in their churches; silence

detractors ; and even procure them, on the testimony of the visiting bishops, fresh marks of his catholic majesty's good will and favour.

As, to arrive at the nearest Reductions within the diocese of Buenos Ayres, it is requisite to remount the Uruguay for some days together ; and the navigation is not only troublesome, but dangerous, on account of the great number of barbarians, enemies to the christian name, who often appear upon its banks ; and as, besides, there is no resting place to be met with during the whole journey, nor the least conveniency, even that of a bed, to lie upon, the bishop had no sooner given notice of his intentions, than two or three jesuits repaired to Buenos Ayres with a great number of their Indians, to escort him. Other Neophytes received orders, at the same time, to make the best of their way to certain posts, from distance to distance, in order to drive away any enemies they may find there ; carry refreshments ; and relieve each other in conducting the bishop. This last precaution is so much the more requisite, as the missionaries have often been stopt half way, by the sudden breaking out of the small pox, or some other epidemical disorder, amongst the Indians.

On the prelate's approach to a Reduction, the news of which is always received by the inhabitants with the greatest demonstrations of joy, two companies of cavalry immediately set out to meet him, and never stop till they have got within sight of the convoy. Then they form ; display their colours ; and perform, in the best order, all their evolutions. This done, they all alight ; come and throw themselves at the prelate's feet ; kiss his hand in the most respectful manner ; and receive his blessing. About a league from the town, the Cacique, the Corregidor, and all the officers both civil and military, the superior of the missions, the parish

parish priest, and some other jesuits assembled from the neighbouring Reductions, likewise pay their respects to the bishop ; fall on their knees to kiss his hand, and ask his blessing. The infantry appears next, drawn up in order of battle, colours flying, drums beating, fifes and clarions sounding ; and, after opening to let his lordship pass through them, join again, and bring up the rear, all the while beating to arms, till they have seen their prelate safely arrived.

THE prelate enters the town amidst the repeated acclamations of the inhabitants ; and, first, repairs to the church, where, on his arrival at the gates, the organs are immediately put in motion. It is here the women wait his coming ; for they are never permitted, upon any pretence whatsoever, to mix with the men on such occasions. Though the piety and modesty, painted in their countenances, are all their ornament, the sincere joy they express at their bishop's arrival never fails to draw tears from him and all his attendants. Many prelates have even affirmed, that their tears never dried up during all the time their visitation lasted. The bishop, after giving his blessing to his dear daughters in Jesus Christ, who receive it with joined hands and prostrated on the ground, is conducted to the altar, where he makes a short prayer, and then gives out the *Te Deum*, which is accompanied by the best vocal and instrumental musick. After this, he and his attendants repair to the apartments that have been prepared for them, where they find every conveniency they can wish for ; and are served with the greatest neatness and order.

THE time his lordship spends among them is employed in those functions, which are the principal object of his coming ; especially that of confirming all those who have not before received that sacrament. But these duties are intermixed with holy

rejoicings, in which the strangers are surprized to find more order, good taste, and even elegance, than are, perhaps, to be seen in some of the largest and best governed towns of Europe. Acclamations precede and follow the prelate wherever he goes; and his progress may be traced by flowers and odoriferous herbs and triumphal arches loaded with fruits and flowers of every kind. But what surprizes him most, and what he can never cease thinking of, is the prodigious alteration observable in these new christians, and of which he is enabled to form a competent judgment by comparing them with the wild Indians he has occasion to meet, and even with the converted Indians in the service of the Spaniards.

THESE prelates are equally surprized to find the children, that are brought to them for confirmation, so well instructed in regard to the excellence and obligations of this sacrament, which is always conferred with such pomp and ceremony, as to make it a festival, in which all the inhabitants have a share, and which never fails to renew their fervour. The Indians keep the prelate among them as long as they can, and his departure draws from them many tears, with which he cannot refrain from mixing his own. They escort him to the next town, in the same order, and with the same ceremony, they conducted him to their own; and, when he has visited all the Reductions, he returns to Buenos Ayres with the same convoy, with which he set out. This picture may serve for the visitations, which the bishop of the Assumption makes in the Reductions seated in the neighbourhood of the Parana.

THE governor of the province, the commissaries and visitors sent by the kings of Spain to inspect the state of the Reductions, are received in a more military manner, but with the same

same zeal, and always with marks of the profoundest submission. The provincial of the jesuits, when he makes his first visit, is received with demonstrations of affection and respect, which, however great they may be, evidently fall short of what these good people would have them, though a great deal more flattering for this father of their fathers, than all the honours they could render him, did his modesty permit him to receive any. If any of these Neophytes happen to be at Buenos Ayres, when new missionaries arrive there from Europe, (and when they have timely notice of their being expected, they always flock there in great numbers to receive them,) there is nothing they don't put in practice to express their joy. It is but one perpetual holiday in the city as long as the fathers continue in it; and the Indians never fail to vary their rejoicings by a few shews, with which some foreigners, protestants especially, have taken a great deal of pains to embellish their relation, at the expence of the jesuits.

BUT these travellers, and most of those who look for amusement in their memoirs, don't sufficiently attend to the spirit, in which all these things are done; nor consider, as they ought to do, that the difference and variety of the several climates is attended with a great deal in the way of thinking and acting of those who live under them; that besides a great many things ought to be overlooked in men but newly civilized and converted, who think they can never do enough to express their affection and gratitude towards those, who rescued them from savageness and idolatry; and who, at the expence of immense labours, and in spite of the most cruel persecutions, have procured them all the blessings they enjoy, that of liberty in particular, of whose value, as well as that of all other blessings, they must be

so much the more sensible, as they have constantly before their eyes other Indians their countrymen, groaning under the most cruel slavery, or living strangers to all the comforts of a civil and religious life; and these observations are handed down from generation to generation; the parents never failing to relate them to their children. What wonder then, that the remembrance of so many and such great blessings, should inspire them with a boundless affection for the missionaries; and, that in expressing it, they should give way a little to their natural genius and disposition.

It has been thought proper, considering the natural levity and inconstancy of the Indians, and the great difficulty there is often found in rooting out of the hearts of those newly converted certain gross vices, in a manner grown natural to them, to establish in the Reductions the practice of publick penances, much upon the same footing it prevailed in the primitive ages of christianity. For this purpose, the missionaries appoint some of the most virtuous to inspect the conduct of the rest. These inspectors, as soon as they have surprized any one in a fact capable of giving scandal, put on him the penitential habit; conduct him to the church, where they oblige him to make a publick confession of his crime; and then carry him to the square to be whipped. The criminals always receive this correction not only without murmuring, but with thanks; and scarce ever relapse. Nay the men often, and the women sometimes, are seen to confess, in the most publick manner, faults of this kind, though committed in private; and apply for penance. But a great deal of discretion is observed on these occasions; and it is with great difficulty the missionaries permit any of them, the women especially, to make such publick confessions, when they wait to ask leave for that purpose.

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THOSE devout and pious exercises, which are most approved, and the church besides has most authorized, are likewise so many means successfully employed to maintain the spirit of religion, and even increase it in the hearts of these new christians. It is a rule not to admit to the communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ those born of infidel parents, till after a long and severe tryal ; and they have given sufficient proofs of their discerning, as the apostle directs, the food of the soul, and that they truly hunger and thirst after it. But to do this they have the greatest helps. Nothing is omitted to make them sensible, before they are permitted to approach this celestial banquet, of the great purity of heart and sublimity of affection requisite to partake of it worthily and to advantage ; and it may be affirmed with great truth, that they never come to the holy table but with sentiments capable of making an impression on the most hardened reprobates.

THE first missionaries immediately perceived, that, in order to inspire the new converts with a great respect for the holy place, and for the worship peculiar to it, it was proper to employ some exterior pomp and ceremony ; and nothing has been spared to make the proper use of this observation. All the churches are large, with three, and often five, naves, somewhat too low, indeed, for their length and breadth, because the roof is supported by columns of one piece. In the largest churches there are five very neat altars, at least ; that in the middle, which is the great altar, has always something august and striking in it. The Spaniards themselves are surprized to see them so magnificent, and so rich in plate, linen, and ornaments. It is, indeed, the only subject of emulation between the Reductions, some of whom have been known to rebuild their churches from the very foundations, merely to put them on a level with others ; and

even deprive themselves of the necessities of life to effect it.

ALL the churches are adorned with paintings which represent the principal mysteries of our holy religion, and the most heroic actions of the saints of the old and new testament. These paintings are separated by festoons and compartments of an everlasting verdure, interspersed with the most beautiful flowers. On solemn days, the pavement is likewise strewed with flowers, and the whole church sprinkled with sweet waters, which perfume the air. This, indeed, is easily done, as the materials are to be found in this country all the year round. Besides, the Indians being very fond of flowers and odoriferous plants, these ornaments contribute to remind them that they ought, by their innocence and virtue, to be the good odour of Jesus Christ, and render themselves worthy of becoming the living temples of the Holy Ghost.

THESE methods have succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the missionaries. Nothing can come up to the modesty, respect and tender devotion with which they assist at the divine mysteries, and the ordinary prayers, which are, almost all of them, said in the church. The attention, with which they listen to the instructions and exhortations of their pastors, almost surpasses belief; and during the act of contrition, with which both instructions and exhortations are always concluded, and which is pronounced with a loud voice, they sob and sigh; and would publicly confess their faults, did not their missionaries employ all their authority to prevent it.

It is by these means that the missionaries have succeeded, in entirely extirpating from this republic certain vices, drunkenness especially, to which the Indians have an almost invincible disposition; and inspire them with so great a delicacy of conscience, that, at present, they rarely bring any but the

slightest faults to the tribunal of penance. Don Pedro Faxardo, bishop of Buenos Ayres, wrote to the king of Spain, that he did not believe there was a single mortal sin committed in any of these towns in a whole twelvemonth. They present themselves, however, before this tribunal with such sentiments of compunction, that they seldom leave it without dissolving into tears. And, indeed, no pains have been spared to engrave deeply in their hearts the salutary fear of displeasing God ; and to keep out of their way every thing capable of endangering their innocence. It is for this purpose that houses of refuge have been every where established for the reception of widows, and such married women as have no children, during the absence of their husband. They are all maintained in these houses, at the expence of the publick, when they cannot work, or what they do is found insufficient for their support.

It is no way surprizing, that God should work such wonders in such pure souls ; nor that those very Indians, to whom some learned doctors would not allow reason enough to be received into the bosom of the church, should be at this day one of its greatest ornaments ; and, perhaps, the most precious portion of the flock of Jesus Christ. It is at least, certain, that there are to be found a great number of christians among them, who have attained the most eminent sanctity ; that all, or almost all of them carry their contempt of the goods of this life to such an extraordinary degree, as to be always ready to part with what they possess for each others relief, and the decoration of the house of the Lord. Nay, they scruple making use themselves of the most precious fruits of their industry. For instance, I said that there is in some parts of this country, a kind of bees, called *Opemus*, whose wax exceeds any thing

we know of in whiteness. These Neophytes have consecrated all they can gather of it to burn before the pictures of the Blessed Virgin; and, a jesuit having once endeavoured to persuade some of them, who happened to be in distress, to sell what they had gathered of it, in order to procure the necessaries they wanted; "We have, they answered, consecrated it all to our good mother, and are not afraid of her abandoning us in our distress".

THE churches are seldom without a great number of persons, who there spend, in prayer, all the time they can spare from their necessary labours. At daybreak, the children of both sexes assemble there at the ringing of a bell; and, after morning prayer, sing the christian doctrine till sun rise. The men and women then come to hear mass; after which they all go to their several tasks. In the evening, the children return to church to be catechised; which done, evening prayers are said, at which all in general, as much as possible, assist. These indispensable devotions always terminate with the rosary. A mass of the virgin, and another for the dead, is sung every monday. On sundays and holidays, all repair to the church by daybreak; and immediately begin to sing the christian doctrine, after which the priest performs what marriages or espousals are to be performed. The profelytes assist at these ceremonies, and even the infidels, if any happen to be in the Reduction, as they have been found by experience to inspire them with very high notions of our holy religion. The feasts and fasts of the week are then published; likewise all orders and letters from the bishops. After mass, strict enquiry is made, if any one has absented himself from it, or any disorder has happened, that requires an immediate remedy. The baptism of the Catechumens, and sometimes that of the new born infants, is the first function of the after-

afternoon. Then, vespers are sung ; and the day finishes, as usual, with evening prayers and the rosary. But, in the congregations, the vespers are always followed by an exhortation.

THESE congregations are on the same footing with those, that have been erected in almost all the houses of the society ; and are divided into several classes. There is one for the young men, from twelve to thirty, under the protection of the prince of the heavenly militia. All the rest are under that of the mother of God. None are admitted members of these associations, but such as distinguish themselves by their charity to their neighbours ; their zeal for maintaining good order and converting infidels ; and their assiduity in approaching the sacraments. The apprehension of being struck out of the table that contains the names of the associates, would alone be sufficient to keep them within the strictest bounds of their duty. The least intemperance, if attended with any scandal, is enough to make the person guilty of it withdraw of his own accord ; and nothing has contributed so much to extirpate entirely so dangerous a vice.

THE missionaries have even found means to inspire these Neophytes with so great an aversion for drunkenness, the most universal of all their vices, and the most difficult to extirpate, that, when their affairs call them to the Spanish towns, it is impossible to prevail upon them to taste any wine. On these occasions, they have been often heard to say, that wine is the best thing that comes from Spain, but that to them it is downright poison. The same precautions have been taken to cure them of incontinency, which is one of the ordinary consequences of drunkenness. The slightest fault of this kind would be sufficient to render any of them un-

unworthy in the eyes of the rest, of being counted among the servants of the queen of virgins.

As to the women, the pains taken to inspire them with a great horror for impurity, have succeeded so well, that they readily submit to the most ignominious penance, for the least liberty they give themselves in this respect; young girls have often been known to part with their lives, rather than yield to the brutality of infidels into whose hands they had the misfortune of falling. It has not, however, been as yet thought quite so safe to exhort them to celibacy. In short, the two sexes are no where suffered to intermix, not even at church, in the middle of which there is a passage from the door to the sanctuary, which parts the men from the women. They are even divided into classes, according to their different ages; and every class has its inspectors, who see that all those under their care behave with the strictest decorum. Those who inspect the children carry in their hands long rods, with which they immediately put in mind of their duty those, who seem ever so little to forget it. To conclude, there are doors on both sides, by which the whole congregation may come in and go out without the least disorder or confusion.

THE reader may imagine from what I have already said of the natural taste which these Indians discover for music, that the missionaries failed not to avail themselves of so happy a disposition to engage the infidels, whom curiosity, accident or business lead to the Reductions, to listen to their instructions, and inspire those they converted with a greater liking to the divine service. It is for this purpose that all the christian doctrine has been set to music, and this expedient has answered exceedingly well. These musicians, who, when they perform in church, wear, as all others immediately in the service of it, a very decent and neat habit, at
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the same time that they inspire others with devotion, seem to glow with it themselves, which proves still more, that they do not make any extraordinary efforts to succeed ; and that, as the natural effect of music is to excite in the heart those sentiments which it already possesses, this art finds in the Indians who practice it, and in those who hear them, no sentiments but such as tend to piety and devotion.

THE solemn festivals are celebrated with the greatest pomp, especially that of the saint whose name the church bears, and that of the blessed sacrament. On the approach of the first, invitations are sent to the inhabitants of the nearest Reductions ; and they attend in great numbers, the officers on horseback and in their uniforms. The solemnity begins the eve of the holiday by a very fine military procession, in which the Alferez, who carries the great standard, appears mounted on a proud courser richly caparisoned, and rides under a magnificent canopy. After perambulating the principal streets in very good order, to the sound of the drums and other warlike instruments of musick, they repair to the great door of the church, where those on horseback alight, and the Alferez takes his seat in a chapel prepared for his reception. The first vespers are then performed, after which the children are made to dance in the great square, where the whole company, both inhabitants and strangers, are placed in the greatest order. The dances being finished, the cavalry returns to the place where they began their march. At night, bonfires are made from distance to distance, and all streets are illuminated. The next day, they repair to high mass in the same order they repaired, the evening before, to first vespers. At noon, the inhabitants entertain the strangers ; and every one is regaled with a small cup of wine. Immediately
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after the second vespers, at which every thing passes as at the first, they run at the ring. The missionaries assist at it, with all the chiefs and officers, to keep the spectators in order; distribute the prizes to the conquerors; and give the signal for breaking up.

BUT nothing can compare with the procession of the blessed sacrament; and it may be affirmed, that, without any display of riches or magnificence, it forms a sight, which yields, in nothing, to the richest and most magnificent procession in any other part of the world. Don Antonio de Ulloa informs us, in general, that it is attended with very fine dancing, far above what is to be seen in the province of Quito; that the dancers are very neatly dressed; and that the pomp of it, upon the whole, equals that of the greatest cities, at the same time that infinitely more decency and devotion accompanies it. I said, that no treasures were to be seen at this ceremony; but all the beauties of simple nature are there so happily disposed as to represent her in all her glory. She even appears, if I may say so, all life and soul on the occasion; for, over the greens and flowers that compose the triumphal arches, under which the blessed sacrament passes, there appear flocks of birds of every colour, tied by the legs to strings of such a length, that a stranger would imagine they enjoyed their full liberty, and were come of their own accord to mix their warblings with the voices of the musicians, and the rest of the people; and bless, in their own way, him, whose providence carefully supplies all their wants.

ALL the streets are hung with carpets very well wrought, and separated by garlands, festoons and compartments of verdure, disposed with the most beautiful symmetry. From distance to distance, there appear lions and tigers very well

well chained, that they may not disturb the solemnity instead of adorning it; and even very fine fishes sporting and playing in large basons of water. In a word, every species of living creatures assist at the solemnity, as it were, by their deputies, to do homage to the incarnate word, in his august sacrament; and acknowledge the sovereign dominion his father has given him over all living creatures. Wherever the procession passes, the ground is covered with mats, and strewed with flowers and odoriferous herbs. All, even the smallest children, have a hand in these decorations, amongst which are, likewise, to be seen the flesh of the animals newly killed for food; every thing the Indians regale themselves with at their greatest rejoicings; and the first fruits of their labours; all, in order to make an offering of them to the Lord; the grain, particularly, they intend to sow, that he may give it a blessing. The warbling of the birds, the roaring of the lions and tigers, the voices of the musicians, the plain chant of the choir, all intermix without confusion, and conspire to form a concert not to be equalled in any other part of the world.

THE great royal standard is carried behind the blessed sacrament. The cacique, the corregidor, the regidores, and the alcaldes, support the canopy. The militia, both horse and foot, with their colours and standards flying, assist, likewise, at the procession in good order. But, however striking this spectacle may be, the greatest beauty of it, beyond all manner of doubt consists in the piety, the modesty, the respect, and even the air of holiness, visible in every countenance; so that, perhaps, the triumph of the saviour of mankind is no where more compleat than in this barbarous country, where his name was not known two ages ago. As soon as the blessed sacrament is returned to the church,
the

the Indians present to the missionaries all the several kinds of eatables that have been exposed in the procession ; and the fathers, after sending the best of every thing to the sick, distribute what remains among the rest of the inhabitants. The evening, as on all other great solemnities and days of publick rejoicing, concludes with the most curious fireworks. “ In short, says Don Antonio de Ulloa, these Neophytes omit no circumstance either of festivity or devotion practised in the most opulent cities of Old Spain.”

THEIR cemeteries or burying grounds are great squares, always near the church, divided, lengthways by fine walks bordered with orange and lemon trees ; the middle one leading to a chapel, planted all round with stately cypress and palm trees, and inclosed with low walls. Every monday a procession is made to the chapel, in order to sing a mass of Requiem, which is followed by a *Libera* at each of the crosses planted at the four corners of the cemetery. There are other chapels, at some distance from every reduction, to serve as a station to the processions made on the rogation days, and at other times, either to deprecate God's anger in cases of public calamity, or to return him thanks for special mercies. All the streets of the town terminate at one or another of these chapels ; and have, besides, every one of them a cross at each end, where the procession makes a pause, to perform musically an anthem, whose words are adapted to the subject of the procession, or else contain some article of the christian doctrine. It, then, enters an avenue planted with the most beautiful and stately trees, which leads to the chapel. In their way to this chapel they sing the usual prayers, and conclude them by another anthem. All the inhabitants assist at this procession, except the sick, or those whose business will not admit them to be present.

No pains have been spared to establish the most exact police in this republick. All the inhabitants are to be at home, every evening, by a certain hour, when a sufficient detachment begins to patrol the streets and squares, for a certain time, at the end of which, they are relieved by another; and so on till day light. There are two reasons for this institution; the first is, to hinder the inhabitants from leaving home at an unseasonable hour without its being known where they go, and upon what errand. The second is, to prevent the town's being surprized by an enemy; for there are every where strolling Indians, against whom it is impossible to be too much on one's guard. The persons, thus entrusted with the care of maintaining good order, and preventing sudden attacks, are chosen with the same precaution observed in chusing those, who are destined for publick employments and the service of the churches.

THESE precautions consist in preparing, from their very infancy, for every employment, those who discover the properest dispositions to fill it worthily. The inhabitants, in general, are taught nothing but what is necessary to make them good workmen; enable them to govern their families well; and qualify them for such little subaltern employments, as require no extraordinary genius. Formerly, the Guaranis, and all the other Indians of these provinces, could only reckon by their fingers and toes. To express any number exceeding twenty, they made use of a word equivalent to our *Many*. At present, the Neophytes understand enough of numbers to answer all their purposes, and nothing more is required of them. The missionaries know the extent of their capacity, and exact nothing beyond it. They keep them within the bounds of their ancient simplicity, but divested of all that vice and savageness which disfigured

gured it. In a word, this republick is, properly, the seat of evangelical simplicity; and it is in order to preserve it genuine and entire, that the missionaries do all that lies in their power to hinder the Neophytes from having any communication with the Europeans; experience having convinced them, that all the new christians of America, who are fallen from their primitive fervour, fell merely in consequence of their having conversed too freely with the old christians from Europe; or even having only taken too near a view of them.

It is, likewise, for this reason, that, in all the journeys they are obliged to take; during their residence in the Spanish towns; and all the time they serve his majesty, as soldiers or labourers; they are accompanied by missionaries, who never lose sight of them; who often speak to them of God; see that they exactly comply with all their duties, and perform punctually all their religious exercises; and, as yet, thank God, they have not been known to give themselves any loose. On the contrary we are told, that the actions and discourses, most-capable of making bad impressions, serve only to inspire them with a greater horror of vice; that no indecent word ever escapes their lips; and that they, are, of themselves, extremely solicitous not to omit any of their usual exercises of devotion. It must, however, be owned, that those who live at the greatest distance from the Spanish settlements, and seldomest leave their own, discover a more extraordinary degree of fervour and simplicity than the rest; on whom, for this reason, the missionaries are obliged to bestow more than ordinary care and attention.

BUT there is one thing, greatly to their honour, universally allowed by all the Europeans settled in South America; which is, that they no longer discover any traces of their former proneness to vengeance

gence, cruelty, licentiousness, and the grosser vices; in a word, that they are no longer, in any respect, the same men they formerly were; that what prevails most in their character at present, is a most cordial love and affection for each other, and charity for all men, that charms all who frequent them, the infidels especially, whom their behaviour serves to inspire with the most favourable opinion of the christian religion. The readiness with which they relieve each other in their wants; the lively joy they express as often as they see any addition made to the number of those who adore Jesus Christ; leave no room to doubt, that the true love of their neighbour, and the warmest zeal for the glory of God, are become their ruling passions. There is nothing, in fact, which they are not ready to do or suffer to extend the kingdom of God; and we shall, perhaps, have occasion to mention, hereafter, some instances of this disposition. There is a kind of emulation among them to facilitate to the new missionaries, the acquisition of their language; and one of their caciques has been known to learn Spanish merely to be able to translate pious tracts in that tongue; and he, accordingly, translated some of them. When a new reduction is to be founded, all contribute to the undertaking with the greatest earnestness and alacrity; and with a generosity, that knows no bounds.

THE publick rejoicings, which they are, from time to time, permitted to make, appeared necessary to the missionaries, as well to preserve their health, as to keep up among them an air of cheerfulness and good humour, which are so far from being contrary to virtue, that they greatly contribute to render it amiable, and increase devotion, as often as, after the example of the royal prophet, christians propose to themselves their ce-

lestial country, as the principal object of their joy. Another view the missionaries had in this toleration, was to strengthen the union between all the members of this republick; and experience proves, that nothing could be better imagined to answer so desirable an end. The women never assist at these rejoicings, otherwise than as spectators; and the presence of the priests serves to keep the whole company within those bounds, which christians should never trespass. The least indecency on these occasions would subject the offender to immediate punishment.

FROM all we have said it evidently follows, that there can no where be found so great a degree of happiness, as that enjoyed by the members of this new church; and that it was with great reason Monsieur Muratori intitled his description of it, *Il cristianesimo felice*. In fact, what can christians desire, who have confined themselves to the necessities of life, and are, morally, sure never to come short of them; who even know, after the apostle's example, to enjoy plenty, without making an ill use of it; and, without murmuring, suffer want; who never entertain the least thoughts of despairing in providence, which never fails to supply them against unexpected accidents with resources equally unexpected; who regulate all their sentiments and all their actions by the purest maxims of the gospel; who live under the conduct of those, to whom they owe all the blessings they enjoy; who possess, in fine, all the advantages of subordination and dependence, without feeling any of that uneasiness usually attending restraint.

THEY would, no doubt, be still happier, had it been possible to hinder them from knowing so much as the name of war; but, even in the very infancy of their republick, they experienced all the horrors of it, as will presently appear; and they have

have to this day neighbours, from whom they can expect neither no rest, but in proportion as they can command it. It was, therefore, absolutely requisite to put arms into their hands, and instruct them in an art, which is the greatest plague of mankind. But it is not to make conquests, or to enrich themselves at the expence of other nations, they practice it. As neither their countrymen, nor those strangers, who, in a hostile manner, formerly carried on so cruel a persecution against them, dare any longer attack them, they have, for many years past, no other occasion to use their arms, but in the service of the prince, to whom they have sworn an implicit obedience. Those, therefore, who are charged with the conduct of them, have this consolation, that they never take the field but through a wise and necessary precaution, or by the orders of their sovereign; thus sanctifying themselves, it may be said, in a profession so dangerous to virtue.

EVERY town keeps on foot a body of cavalry, and another of infantry. The infantry, besides the machete, and the bow and arrow, carry a sling, a sword, and a musket; the cavalry use sabres and lances; and, likewise, a musket, as they sometimes do duty on foot, like the European dragoons. They themselves make all their small arms, their field pieces, and even their heavy artillery. They never use the heavy artillery, but to keep their neighbours in awe; or the field pieces, but when they are commanded on the king's service. But, as I already said, they never keep any of their arms, of any kind, by them, unless when there is some reason to apprehend a surprize. At all other times, the soldier is not distinguished from the mere citizen; and those brave fellows, on whom the security of the republick depends, and who so often come

home loaded with laurels, as soon as they have laid by their arms, might serve as models of piety and submission to the most retired monk.

EVERY monday, the corregidor of every town, not only reviews his troops, in the great square, but makes them perform their exercise. On these occasions, they form two divisions, which attack each other, and sometimes do it with so much ardour, that the commanding officer, to prevent mischief, is obliged to order the retreat to be sounded sooner than he intended. Prizes are, likewise, proposed, from time to time, for those, who perform best at the bow, lance, sling, and fire-arms. The most diverting exercise of all is that of the lance. That of the sling is very surprizing, on account of the justness with which the slingers hit the mark; and it may be truly affirmed, that there are no troops in all America capable of making head against them with sling or lance. I may even, I think, venture to pronounce this militia invincible by equal numbers. They are, besides, very docile; never give way; and, when broke, rally at the first order. However, they would not, it is to be presumed, fight the worse, were they properly headed by Spanish officers.

THE ambuscades, and sudden irruptions and attacks, which used formerly to prove so fatal to them, are now no longer to be dreaded, on account of the great care taken to keep them constantly on their guard. There is always a party of horse employed in scouring the country, with orders to give notice of every thing that passes; and all the defiles, by which an enemy could penetrate into the country, are well guarded. But as, in spite of all these precautions, some of an enemy's parties might, by the favour of the woods steal upon a town, and storm it, while the inhabitants were at church, the mili-

military men are permitted to carry their arms there along with them, when there is any reason to suspect such an attack that they may be in readiness to stop a coup de main, and give the rest of the inhabitants time to look about them.

THIS republick occupies a great extent of country, the air of which is, in general, moist, and the weather pretty temperate. In some of the southern districts of it, the winters are pretty severe; but the lands are every where fruitful, and yield sugar, tobacco, and all the necessaries of life. Not only grains peculiar to the country, but those brought from Europe, thrive very well in them. The crops of cotton generally amount to two thousand robes for every reduction. The country likewise yields, as we said before, great quantities of honey and wax, which require no trouble but that of going into the woods to gather them. When the Indians have laid up a stock of every thing for the present year's consumption, and a sufficiency of seed to provide for the next; what remains is, along with the weed of Paraguay, carried to Santa Fé, to be exchanged for commodities; or sold for money to pay the kings tribute, and buy such things as cannot be had in the way of barter.

THE Guaranis were for a long time the only Indians, in a manner, that composed this republick; and they are still the bulk of them. Next to them are the *Tapés*, who spoke the same language, and are probably of the same extraction. Nay, their name is often given to all the subjects of this republick, in the rescripts of the catholick kings. But there are few nations between the Parana, the province of Uruguay, and Brazil, that have not supplied the Reductions with recruits. Besides, the missionaries frequently take the field, in company with some of their Neophytes, to make spiritual conquests; and they seldom return unsuccessful. The most diffi-

cult to reduce are the *Guanoas*, of whom we shall say something in another place; not only because they are very lazy, and very dissolute, but more still, because their blood is mixed with that of the Spaniards, some of whom, from time to time, take refuge among them to avoid justice, and cannot, by their bad example, but give them a dislike to the christian religion. Some of these *Guanoas*, however, who through curiosity, or a desire of seeing their countrymen, come to the reductions, are retained there by the kind reception they meet. This is, likewise, the case with some other Indians and even with the *Cbaruas*, a wandering and very savage people, who massacred great numbers of Spaniards, during the first building of Buenos Ayres and the neighbouring establishments. But those, who, next to the Guaranis and the Tapés, have contributed most to fill up the vacancies, which war, and especially sickness, pretty often occasion in the reductions, are the *Guananas*, who live between the Parana and Brazil. For, as these Indians cultivate the earth, admit no outlaws among them, and are pretty docile and laborious, there is the less trouble to gain them over.

It will, no doubt, appear surprizing, that a republick so well regulated, and in which so much care is taken to prevent every thing that may impair the health of its members, should not people faster. But, besides the Neophytes having been for a long time the sport of revolutions and a prey to wars, by which an infinite number of them perished; besides their long and frequent expeditions at a great distance from home in the king's service, since, by being permitted the use of fire arms, they have had nothing to fear from other Indians; no method has been as yet discovered to secure them from certain epidemical diseases, which sometimes carry off half the inhabitants of the towns

towns, in which they break out. And it is this that has deceived several persons, who, from seeing the tribute rolls of one year, formed an estimate of what was to be paid into the treasury the next; not considering, or perhaps not willing to consider, that the number of those subject to the tribute was not only not encreased, but considerably lessened.

THE commonest of these disorders, which are often called plagues, on account of their becoming general in a short time, are the small pox, the purples, malignant fevers, and a fourth, of which we are barely told, that it is attended with very sharp pains. These disorders are so much the more dangerous, as the Indians, quite careless of themselves, can scarce ever be prevailed on by others to take any pains to prevent them, or stop their progress; and as, besides, there is not a single physician in all the reductions, nor any other surgeons, but a few lay brother jesuits; and it has not as yet been found possible to establish hospitals or good dispensaries. The missionaries supply, as much as possible, the want of all these necessaries, by all the care the most industrious and tender charity can suggest, especially for the relief of the sick; and it must be owned, that two men, and sometimes but one, obliged to attend, at once, to all the necessities of body and soul, and make frequent excursions into the country, where several men stationed there to carry on some branches of husbandry, or take care of their cattle, are overtaken by the disorder; and who often have not, by day or by night, a moment's repose; it must be granted, I say, that persons having so many calls to answer, cannot possibly answer them all. It is even surprizing, and in some sort miraculous, that breathing on these occasions, as they constantly do, an infected air; and being incessantly employed in serving the sick, administering the sacraments to the dying, and burying the dead, they so seldom catch any dis-

order themselves, or sink under the fatigue of attending others.

THE Indians know all this perfectly well. Nothing makes a greater impression upon them, or the Infidels, many of whom are often witnesses to it, than this charity, which takes in every necessity, and exposes itself to every danger; which no labours can frighten, no drudgery disgust. It is, therefore, no way surprizing, that sensible as they are of the great difference between their situation, and that of the other Indians obliged to do personal service, they are so attached to those, to whom they are indebted for their liberty; and that, as often as other pastors have been sent to them, they immediately dispersed. This has happened more than once. The Jesuit Missionaries, have, on their side, for the Neophytes a tenderness, that is scarce conceivable; and is inspired chiefly by that undeserved confidence in them, which these poor Indians express, on every occasion, by their patience and resignation in sicknesses the most painful, during which, though destitute of many things fit for persons in their condition, and with which it is not in the power of these Fathers to supply them, they seldom are heard to utter a single complaint. They receive with submission, and even with thanks, every thing from the hand of God; and sigh after nothing but their heavenly country.

THE consolation of these apostolic men, when the Lord strikes their flock in this manner, consists in their having the greatest certainty, that can be expected, that heaven is peopled by their losses; and that they thereby gain so many new intercessors with the master of the harvest, to give them a more abundant crop in their spiritual excursions. These disorders often attack the neophytes in their journeys, in which they are quite destitute of all manner of assistance. It sometimes, happens, that, when

when they have scarce got half way, the small-pox overtakes them, and obliges them to stop short, in imminent danger of perishing on some desert shore, or of falling into the hands of barbarians. Father Cattaneo, who, at his very first entrance upon this mission in the year 1730, happened to be present at one of these sudden surprizes by sickness, gives us, in one of his letters, such a detail of the distress attending them, as can scarce be read without shedding tears.

Such is this pretended kingdom, of which, it is said, that the Jesuits are sovereigns of, and draw from treasures enough to enrich all the society; but into which, it is added, they take the greatest care not to let any strangers enter, lest it should be discovered what use they make of all these riches, and be driven out of the country, in case the avenues to it came to be well known. Nothing has, as yet, been said of the Christian Republick of the *Chiquites*, which the same Jesuits of Paraguay founded a little more than sixty years ago, in the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and of which I shall speak in due season. It differs in nothing from that of the Guaranis, upon which it has been modelled, but that it was sooner brought to perfection, because the Chiquites are more laborious than the Guaranis; and supported their missionaries for some years, during which they received no pension from court, as the Neophytes had not as yet been declared immediate vassals of the crown, nor were, consequently, liable to pay any tribute.

I cannot better conclude this description of the Christian Republick established on the Parana and the Uruguay, than by the following letter written to Philip V, in 1721, by Don Pedro Faxardo, of the order of the Trinity for the redemption of captives, and then bishop of Buenos Ayres, after his lordship visited all the reductions of his diocese:

SIR E,

SIRE,

A letter from the capital of Paraguay, in which my person is but little spared, having lately fallen into my hands, I take the liberty of writing to your majesty. I am little concerned at what it contains to my prejudice; but I cannot be silent in regard to the calumnies and false accusations, with which it loads the missionaries of this province. As the writer declares, that letters in the same strain have been written to the royal council of the Indies, I should be very much to blame, if I did not discover the malice of those, who write them, and inform your majesty of the prudent behaviour and useful labours of the truly apostolick men, against whom they rail; though not without wounding me through their sides.

THIS is not the first time, Sire, that similar complaints have been made of these missionaries to the supreme council of the Indies. But these fathers, who have nothing in view but the glory of God, and the preservation and increase of their flourishing missions, have supported all the attacks made on them, with a constancy and equanimity, by which I could not but be greatly edified. What surprises me still more, is that not only they appear quite insensible to all the strokes made at them, but that for all these injuries they return nothing but kindness and charity. How many poor families are there in the capital of Paraguay, who would starve but for their assistance? With what zeal do they not labour for the salvation of the inhabitants? They comfort them in their afflictions; they preach to them the truths of the gospel; they assist them in sickness; they instruct their children; they compose their dissensions; they reconcile them when enemies; they are always ready to serve those, who in any shape stand in need of it.

BUT

BUT so many virtues, instead of procuring them, as one might naturally expect, the love and esteem of this people, serve only to make them more readily yield to the malicious attacks of calumny. I am not afraid to say, that, if these fathers had less virtue, they would be less hated. I have often visited their missions; and I can assure your majesty, that I never beheld more order or disinterestedness, than that with which they are governed by these fathers, who make use of nothing belonging to the Neophytes for their own cloathing or subsistence. In these numerous towns, composed of Indians naturally given to all manner of vice, there reigns so much innocence, that I don't believe a single mortal sin is committed in them; the pastors of them preventing by their great vigilance the commission of the smallest faults. I happened to be in one of these towns on a festival of our lady, and saw eight hundred persons communicate. It is not surprizing, that the enemy of mankind should execute so many storms against so holy a work, and use all his endeavours to destroy it. It is true, that the Missionaries are particularly attentive to hinder Indians from conversing with the Spaniards; and they are very much in the right of it; as such conversation could not fail giving a mortal blow to their innocence. It would introduce libertinism and a total corruption of manners. Of this we have a very striking proof in the behaviour of the Indians inhabiting the four Indian towns in the neighbourhood of this city.

It is, likewise, true, that these Indians yield an unlimited submission to their fathers in Jesus Christ; and what is very surprizing, there appears more gratitude in barbarians, who, before their conversion, gave room to doubt if they were men, than even in those born in the bosom of the church. As to their pretended riches, nothing can be more chimerical.

rical. What they earn by their labour goes entirely to procure them necessaries for their churches; coarse and cheap cloathing; and, every day, a small quantity of meat, Indian corn, and garden stuff. Were these missions worth the Jesuits so much, would their colleges be so poor, as to almost want the common necessaries of life?

For my part, who am perfectly well acquainted with every thing done in these missions, I cannot help applying to the company of Jesus, those words of the book of Wisdom: *How beautiful is a chaste generation, when joined with the lustre of a pure and burning zeal!* which changes so many infidels into true children of the church; trains them up in the fear of God; forms them to the practice of christian virtues; and, in order to maintain them in piety, and preserve them from the contagion of vice, patiently suffers the most atrocious calumnies. *The memory of such a generation is precious in the sight of God and man;* particularly, in that of your majesty, to whom this province is indebted for so many favours.

It is in their name, Sire, that I have the honour to present this memorial to your majesty; and to ask of you the same favour, that was asked of Domitian by one of his subjects. I have, lord, said he, one day, to this emperor, an enemy, who grieves greatly at all the marks of goodness you give me; but I beseech you, to give me still more of them, that he may have still greater reason to grieve, *da Cæsar tanto tu, magis ut doleat.* This is what I expect from your majesty's goodness, in behalf of these poor Indians, fervently praying God to preserve you for the good of this monarchy.

At Buenos Ayres, the 20th of May 1721.

Brother Peter, Bishop of Buenos Ayres.

B O O K VI.

New decrees of the Spanish court in favour of the Indians, especially those submitting without compulsion, and civilized and converted by the Jesuits. Royal visitor in the reductions. Some Spaniards seem willing to comply with the royal decrees in favour of the Indians, whilst others attempt to make slaves even of those belonging to the reductions. Description of the town called St. Paul of Britanigue in Brazil. Why the inhabitants called Mamelus. The Mamelus carry into slavery several of the Reduction Indians; and are the occasion of many more separating from their pastors to seek shelter in the woods, where some perish through want and fatigue, and others are devoured by wild beasts. Division of the provinces of Paraguay, and Rio de la Plata. Description of the country called Tapé. Curious animal. Curious vegetables. Reductions established in Tapé. Singular nations called Caaiguas. Mamelus destroy two Spanish towns. Reductions removed to avoid their fury. Spaniards refuse to assist the new christians.

1610-13. **W**HILE the fathers Maceta and Cataldino were extending their spiritual conquests among the Guaranis on the banks of the Parapamena, some of their brethren had the happiness of founding a reduction under the name of St. Ignatius

St. Ignatius Guaza, between the Tebiquari and the Parana, and of converting a great number of the Diaguites. Even a Cacique among the Guaycurus, who affected to be called Don Martin, applied for some Jesuits to instruct his subjects. But, though the Spaniards could not expect to live with any comfort in the country without making friends of these Indians, and it was impossible to make friends of them without first making them christians, they could not bear even the distant prospect of losing the personal service of these poor creatures, whom they, in a manner, considered as part of their property. Nay, some of them, in hopes, it is probable, of frustrating the charitable designs of the missionaries, went so far as to publish, that the Spaniards had killed the relation of Don Martin, to whom these fathers had promised the fullest security for himself and his subjects, while they remained along with him, in order to induce him to come and settle nearer the province of Paraguay. But the authors of so scandalous a report were fortunately discovered, though not punished with the severity they deserved.

1613. In the mean time, Don Francisco Alfaro arrived in Tucuman, in quality of royal visitor, with instructions to regulate the manner, in which the Indians given in command should be treated, so as to leave no just reason, to complain, to them, or the Spaniards. But it was no easy matter to determine, what the Spaniards had a just right to expect. The personal service, on the footing it then stood, could only be considered as an abuse of the commandes, which it was no easy matter to reduce to equitable bounds; and, accordingly, neither the authority of the sovereign, nor the representations of the bishops, nor the severity of the governors and inferior

ferior magistrates have, as yet been able to conquer this inveterate evil.

THE visiter, after declaring his majesty's intentions, and conferring in private with several persons who best understood the nature of the affair, called an assembly of the principal persons of the province, in which every point was very maturely examined and discussed. The result was an unanimous decree, that the personal service, in the manner it was then exacted in the country, was unlawful for the reasons publicly alledged by every member. The visiter, then, set out for Corduba, where the evil was much greater than at Santiago; and, on his arrival there, published the king's orders, the viceroy's edicts, the sentences of the royal audience of Charcas, and the new decree just now mentioned. But he met with so many obstacles in the execution of them, that he thought proper to mitigate them a little, in hopes that, by proceeding with more gentleness, he might the sooner dispose the parties concerned to yield, at last, an unlimited obedience to the just commands of their superiours. But we are not told how far he carried his condescension, nor what effects it then produced. All we know of the matter is, that he remained but a short time in this town; and that, if ever the personal service was put upon a proper footing, it continued so but a very short time.

THE visiter, then, set out for the Assumption, in company with Don Diego Martin Negroni, named to the government of Paraguay and the provincial of the Jesuits, whom he had met at Corduba. At some distance from the Assumption, they were pretty much surprized to see a large boat draw near them covered with green branches and flowers; but more so, when they found it carried the son of Don Martin, the Guaycurus Cacique, whom his

father had sent to compliment the visiter in his name, and obtain leave for himself to wait upon him, in person. The young Indian acquitted himself so well of his commission, that he charmed all the spectators; and the visiter, the governor, and the provincial thought proper to perform the rest of the journey in his boat, in order to give him an unquestionable proof of their reliance on his assurances. Don Martin himself arrived at the Assumption, in a very short time after them, accompanied by father Gonzales who had been sent to him at his request, and a great many of his countrymen, who were all very well received. He even brought another son of his, two years old, to be baptized; and, though he himself had not as yet applied for that favour, father Torrez thought proper to comply with his request; the visiter and the governor standing sponsors, in person, to the young christian.

THE visiter, then, caused the same publications to be made in the Assumption, in regard to the personal service, which he had before ordered at Corduba and Santiago; but the principal inhabitants, many of whom were related to the first families of Spain, represented to him, that, by depriving them of the services of the Indians, or reducing it to the limits mentioned in his proclamation, they should be absolutely disabled from paying the king, what his majesty required of them. All this was true; but it was their own fault, and that of their forefathers, who, by treating the natives of the country with more justice and humanity, might have obtained far greater services from them, than any they could expect in the state of slavery, to which they had reduced them. The evil, however, being already done, (for a prodigious number of Indians had perished by excessive labour, or fled to avoid it,) the visiter thought he might
consent

consent to a medium, which, at the same time, that it would not render desperate so many persons of quality, should, in no shape, strike at the authority of the sovereign. He, therefore, permitted those, who had Indians in command, to exact from them, during the space of one month in every year, what services they thought proper, provided they paid them wages for the work done during the other eleven months. To this regulation he added several others in favour of the Indians; and the king not only approved the gratuitous service of those in command during one month, but gave leave to extend it to two months, as it had been at the first institution of the commands. But it will appear hereafter, that, in process of time, things insensibly returned to their old footing.

THE visiter, next, declared, in the king's name, that neither the Guaranis nor the Guaycurus should ever be given in command, upon any pretence whatsoever; and that the fathers of the society of Jesus should, alone, be charged with the care of instructing and civilizing them; and engaging them to acknowledge for sovereigns the kings of Spain, of whom they should be considered as the immediate vassals; and that their missionaries should receive out of the royal treasury the same salary, that was allowed to the parish priests among the Indians of Peru. But father Torrez begged the visiter to reduce it to one fourth, assuring him, that it was enough for religious men, who knew how to live within bounds. We have already seen, that what the king allows the parish priests of the reductions for their subsistence, is taken from the tribute, which the Indians of them pay his majesty. Though father Torrez's disinterestedness gave great satisfaction, the visiter had scarce left the Assumption, when there arose so furious a storm against the Jesuits, as the authors of these

new regulations we have been speaking of, that they were obliged to retire to their farm house in the neighbourhood. Soon after their expulsion, however, one of the most considerable inhabitants, attended by all the Indians he had in command, waited on the governor, and protested to him, upon oath, that he would rather see himself reduced to beggary, than trespass the bounds lately prescribed to the encomenderoes. Then, turning to his Indians, he declared to them, that he, by no means, pretended to treat them as slaves for the future, as he had hitherto done; but, on the contrary, would consider them as his children. Though this humane and charitable act made so great an impression upon most of those in the same circumstances, that the Jesuits were soon invited back to their college, there still remained a leaven of ill will against them, which has often shown itself, especially since the Spaniards began again to treat the Indians with their usual cruelty and injustice. Don Francisco concluded his visitation by a tour to Santiago, where he had received the strictest orders from his majesty, and the viceroy of Peru, to see the Jesuits reestablished; but he had no occasion to proceed to violent methods for that purpose. The new governor, and his predecessor, who had been severely reprimanded by the king for suffering the Jesuits to be driven out of the place; the bishop, who now began to lament with tears his weakness in regard to them, and the inhabitants of every rank; all being readier to receive them, than they were to return. The fathers, however, at length complied; and the visiter endowed their college, partly out of the king's revenues, and partly out of those of the cathedral. A seminary was, likewise, opened for the education of youth; but it was soon after transferred to Corduba, which is, at present, the capital of the province,

province, and the residence of its bishops. Much about the same time, the Spaniards, alarmed at some events, which they considered as so many judgments upon those, who had made the greatest abuse of the commands, sincerely renounced the personal service, which they had hitherto exacted from the Indians. Some of them even made them very large presents, by way of atonement for their former oppressions; and these poor creatures, transported with joy at so sudden a change, did nothing but extol those, to whom they imagined they were chiefly indebted for it; and sent them invitations, from every quarter, to settle among them, promising to repay their endeavours with the greatest docility and submission.

EVERY thing being thus regulated in Tucuman, father Torrez turned all his thoughts towards the province of Guayra. The first step he took was to send father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, lately arrived from Spain, to the assistance of the fathers Maceta and Cataldino, who were no longer sufficient for the prodigious number of Guaranis, that daily came to put themselves under their conduct. The four reductions, however, which these missionaries had already formed, were not as yet overstocked with christians; for, having remarked, that most of their profelytes repaired to them, merely to avoid being molested by the Spaniards, or the Portuguese of Brazil; and in order to be the better able to defend themselves against their old enemies; they began to admit them with some reserve, as many of those, who had been too readily received, soon grew tired of the regular life they were made to lead, and returned to their woods and mountains, when the missionaries least expected it, in spite of all the indulgence that could be allowed them without dishonouring the religion,

religion, which it was the chief ambition of the missionaries to make them embrace.

IN the year 1615, Father Torrez, who had, but seven years before founded this province with seven jesuits, was succeeded by father Pedro de Onate, to whom he left no less than one hundred and nineteen; and this number was greatly encreased, the year following, by a considerable reinforcement from Europe, so that these religious now found themselves in a condition to open regular classes in their colleges at Buenos Ayres Santafe and St. Michael; supply with pastors some spanish towns destitute of spiritual assistance; and send others to maintain and extend the spritual conquests they had already made among the Indians, and attempt new ones. Of those sent on this last errand, father Gonzalez had the greatest success. He founded a reduction at a place called Itapua, sixty leagues from the Assumption, where a gut, by which a marsh drains into the Parana, forms a kind of port; and two others in the neighbourhood. But Don Ferdinando Arias, who had married this father's sister, and had been lately promoted, for the second time, to the government of Paraguay, had like to have blasted these promising appearances by an indiscreet attempt to forward them. Contrary to his brother in law's advice, he would visit the new reductions; and, though the Neophytes, sufficiently apprized by their pastor of the friendliness of his intentions, expressed the greatest pleasure at seeing him, the appearance of about fifty soldiers, whom he had taken along with him, caused such an alarm among the neighbouring Indians, that, while he was disposing of all the civil and military employments of the new establishments, with the same authority he could have done in any spanish town of his government, a large body assembled to cut him off in his return; and would have infallibly

fallibly done it, had not his brother in law's eloquence opened him a passage through them. The governor, having thought proper to offer the cacique, who commanded them, a staff of command, in the king's name, the barbarian prince nobly answered, that he had, for a long time past, commanded in the country without any such staff; and, therefore, desired him to keep the bauble for somebody else, who might think it worth his acceptance.

1613-18. In the mean time, an epidemick disease broke out in the old reductions, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants; but these losses, as they served to people heaven, gave the missionaries much less uneasiness than they suffered by living so near the town of Villarica, whose inhabitants let slip no opportunity of carrying off all the new christians they could surprize, treating them in a manner that exposed them to the danger of losing their faith along with their liberty. To remedy this evil, the fathers thought proper to remove to the other side of the Paranapané and the Pirapé; but it was not long before they discovered, that, by flying from one enemy, they got more within the reach of another, whose neighbourhood soon became fatal to all these new churches. These were the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, a small town of the province of St. Vincent in Brazil, of whose origin and character it is requisite I should say something, that the reader may the better understand the sequel of this history.

THE Portuguese who conquered Brazil, after building St. Vincent on the sea shore, sent colonies into the inland parts of the country, where they built some towns, of which one of the most famous was this of St. Paul, surnamed *Piratininga* from the Indian name of the district, in which it was founded. Some time after the foundation of this

place, father Emmanuel de Nobrega, who had been sent over to Brazil by St. Ignatius, and was the first provincial of the jesuits there, finding, that this little town was advantageously situated to found a numerous church of Brazilians; and imagining, besides, that the Indians here were more docile than those in the neighbourhood of St. Vincent, removed to it the college of this last city; and, as he arrivd at Piratininga the eve of the conversion of St. Paul, he gave his new church the name of that apostle; and this name, in course of time, became that of the town itself.

1618. THE inhabitants of this place continued, for some time, in religious sentiments, through the endeavours of the jesuits established among them; and the Indians of the neighbourhood, for whom these fathers found means to obtain good treatment from their new neighbours, embraced the gospel in great numbers. But this success was of short continuance, and the Portuguese colony of St. Paul of Piratiningue, upon which the missionaries had founded their greatest hopes for extending the kingdom of Jesus Christ, soon became an invincible barrier in the way of their spiritual conquests. The evil proceeded from another colony contiguous to that of St. Paul, in which the blood of the Portuguese had been greatly mixed with that of the Brazilians; for the contagion of this bad example soon reaching St. Paul, there sprang from this mixture a perverse generation, who carried their disorders of every kind to such an excess, that, in process of time, they came to be called *Mamelus*, on account of their great resemblance to these slaves of the ancient sultans of Egypt.

THIS dissolution became so general, in spite of all the endeavours of the governors, magistrates, and jesuits, seconded by the ecclesiastical superiours, to put

put a stop to it, that the Mamelus, at length, shook off the yoke of all divine and human authority. Upon this, a great number of banditti of different nations, Portuguese, Spaniards, Dutch, and Italians, who were obliged to fly the justice of men, and despised that of God, and a great many of the natives, settled amongst them; and, having soon contracted a taste for violence and rapine, gave themselves up to it without restraint, and filled with horror a great extent of country. The shortest method of putting a stop to so great an evil, was to purge the earth of these miscreants. It was equally the interest of the two crowns of Spain and Portugal, now united under one head, to attempt it. But the town of St. Paul, situated on the top of a rock, the avenues to which may be easily defended by a few resolute fellows, could only be reduced by famine; and a much more numerous army would have been requisite for this purpose, than either Brazil or Paraguay could raise and support. Besides, there never existed, between the two nations, harmony enough to make such an enterprize succeed.

THE air at St. Paul is very wholesome and the sky always serene. The weather too, is very temperate, though it lies in the 44th degree of South latitude. All the lands about it are very fertile, and produce the best of wheat, besides the finest sugar canes; and abound with exceeding good pastures. It could, therefore, be merely through a spirit of libertinism, and a love of rapine, that the Mamelus so long made it their business to overrun, in spite of the greatest dangers of every kind, and the most constant fatigues; these vast uncultivated regions; which, from time to time, they have despoiled of two millions of inhabitants, so that their own country must soon have been without inhabitants, if
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to the many who never returned from these excursions, which sometimes lasted seven years, they did not substitute some of the captives they brought home with them, or some Indians, with whom they had formed an alliance.

THE Spaniards of Paraguay were as great sufferers by these ruffians, as the Indian nations that happened to lie in their passage. But the former could blame none but themselves for what they suffered; for, had they supported the reductions properly, the Mamelus would have found in them an insuperable barrier; but, to their great misfortune, avarice blinded them to their real interest. They could not help considering these new churches merely as a part of their property, and never opened their eyes to the advantages they might have lawfully derived from them, till all this frontier was unpeopled and entirely ruined. As the Mamelus, however, soon met with more resistance from the new christians, than they, at first, expected, and did not chuse to weaken themselves by dint of conquest; they had recourse to stratagem, and put several kinds in practice.

THAT, which for some time succeeded best, was, to appear in small parties, led by commanders in the habit of jesuits, in those places, which they knew the jesuits frequented in hopes of making proselytes. The first thing they did on these occasions was to erect crosses. They, next, made little presents to the Indians they met; distributed remedies among the sick; and, as they were masters of the Guarani language, exhorted them to embrace the christian religion, of which they explained to them, in a few words, the principal articles. When they had by these arts assembled a great number of them, they proposed to them to remove to some more convenient spot, where they assured them they should want for nothing. Most of the poor creatures

tures permitted themselves to be thus led by the nose by these wolves in sheep's cloathing, till the traitors, dropping the mask, began to tie them; cutting the throats of those who endeavoured to escape, and carrying the rest into slavery. Some, however, escaped, from time to time, and alarmed the whole country. The jesuits were considered by the Indians, as the authors of this wicked contrivance, till these fathers could point out who they really were; and, in the mean time, besides being exposed to greater dangers than ever during their excursions, generally returned without being able to prevail on any Indians to follow them.

THE Indians of the new republick formed 1718 by these fathers, had not till now been admitted to the holy table, except at the hour of death; nor were any admitted even then, but such as had withstood a tryal of seven years since their baptism. This time was thought necessary to obtain certain proofs of their constancy; to render them capable of conceiving a high opinion of the dignity of so august a sacrament; and to inspire them with a real hunger for this celestial nourishment. Many, in fact, did surprising things to obtain leave to partake of it. As nothing goes against the grain of these people so much as humiliations, it was this way the missionaries chiefly tried them; and they supported the tryal with a courage that could scarce be expected. As soon as notice was given to them to prepare for eating the bread of life, they did it by all the exercises of piety and penance they could think of; especially by fasting, which some carried to such a length as not to taste any thing for two days together. Considering their voracity, and readiness to digest, which we have already spoken of, nothing could better prove how earnestly they hungered after this divine manna. And, indeed, they reaped such fruits from it, that even their
pastors

pastors could hardly persuade themselves they were the same men.

THERE had been current, for a long time past, in the adjacent provinces, a tradition, to which, perhaps, more credit has been given in some relations, than it really deserves; but which, however, it is, I believe, as difficult to refute as to prove. As soon as the fathers Cataldino and Maceta had removed to a greater distance from the Spanish settlements, in order to meet with fewer obstacles to the conversion of the Guaranis, some of the principal men among these Indians assured them, that they had been informed by their ancestors, that a holy man, called *Pay Luma*, or *Pay Tuma*, had preached in their country the faith of Heaven, (so they expressed themselves;) that numbers had put themselves under his conduct; and that, at his departure, he had foretold, that they and their descendants would abandon the worship of the true God whom he had made known to them; but that, after some hundreds of years, new envoys of the same God would appear among them, armed with a cross like that which he carried, and would reestablish the same worship among their descendants.

SOME years after this, the fathers de Montoya and de Mendoza, having penetrated into the canton of *Tayati*, of which I shall soon give some account; the inhabitants, seeing them come with crosses in their hands, received them, to their great surprize, with uncommon demonstrations of joy and affection; and, on the fathers expressing their surprize, related to them the same passages, that the fathers Cataldino and Maceta had heard from other Indians; adding, that the holy man was, likewise, called *Pay Abara*, or the father who lives in a state of celibacy. The tradition of the Brazilians tallies with that of the Guaranis, all to its
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adding that the father landed in the port of Saints, opposite to the bar of St. Vincent; and that he instructed the inhabitants in the arts of cultivating manioc, and making bread of it.

THERE is a great road leading from Brazil to Guayra, which, though very seldom used, is never overgrown with any but small weeds; and the natives call it the road of *Pay Luma*. In short, there is, above the assumption, a rock, whose summit forms a terrace, where some people imagine they can perceive the tracks of human feet; and the Indians say, that it was from this spot *Pay Luma* used to preach the law of God to their forefathers. The Peruvians, who give him the same name, show some similar vestiges in their country, and relate a great many wonders, which they say the saint wrought among them. Be this as it will, several Spaniards have given credit to this tradition, and pretend that *Pay Zuma* was the apostle saint Thomas.

FATHER Gonzalez now undertook to reconnoitre the Uruguay from one end to another. This river, which issues from some mountains in the neighbourhood of Brazil, between the 27th and 28th degrees of south latitude, is no better than a rivulet at its source; but, soon encreased to a considerable degree by the accession of several torrents, and, afterwards, by that of several rivers that fall into it on both sides, it flows two hundred leagues between two chains of mountains, which confine it to a very narrow bed, and thereby render it extremely rapid. It, afterwards, widens so much, that, six hundred and ninety miles above its discharge into the Paraguay, a ten oar boat cannot cross it in less than half an hour, though it runs there at a very slow rate. The country about it now begins to grow pretty even and agreeable, and
abounds

abounds with the same animals and vegetables, that are found on the banks of the Parana.

BUT this river is as full of rocks, as that of Rio de la Plata is of sand banks; and several of these rocks lie even with the surface of the water, so that there is no making use of sails in it. The vessels usually employed upon it are called balzas, and consist of two pirogues joined by several transverse beams, two cubits asunder, covered with planks. Upon these planks stands a tent to shelter the passengers from the heat of the sun, and the injuries of the weather. The Uruguay abounds with fish, which are killed with arrows, when dead, floating to the surface, they are easily taken. Its banks abound with birds, several of them of all colours, particularly parrots, and the fly-bird so well known in Canada, perhaps, the most beautiful feathered creature in the universe. The tigers here are monstrously large and fierce, and remarkable for the beauty of their skins, the ground of which is of a bright gold. When one of these animals is wounded, he immediately falls upon the man by whose arrow he was struck; for he never fails to single him out amongst twenty others. Three Neophytes of the country, having one day discovered a tiger, and one of them, armed with a gun, having immediately fired at him; the animal directly flew at him, and would have torn him to pieces, had not the other two run him through and through in the spring he made to get at his assailant. The fields were formerly covered with lions, ostriches, and deer; but, great numbers of them having been killed, the rest retired to more solitary places. Though this country was full of inhabitants when the Spaniards arrived in Paraguay, it would now, perhaps, be little better than a desert, were it not for the christian reductions founded in it by Father

ther Gonzalez, who with the loss of no lives but his own and that of his two companions, reduced this country to the obedience of the Catholic kings, after the Spaniards had in vain attempted to penetrate into it by force of arms. It is said, that among the *Taros* and *Charuas*, two nations living on the banks of this river, it is customary with those who bury a relation, to cut off the joint of a finger or toe, beginning with the fingers; by which means many of them lose all their fingers and toes very early; notwithstanding which they walk and work very well.

It was about this time, that a province was taken from that of Paraguay, under the name of the province of Rio de la Plata. The *Tebiquari*, which runs into the Paraguay from the east, was appointed the common boundary of these two provinces, of which that of Rio de la Plata was to have Buenos Ayres for its capital. It was, afterwards, ordered, that the reductions established in the Guayra, and on the banks of the Parana, should be under the jurisdiction of the governor and bishop of Paraguay; and those on the Uruguay, under that of the governor and bishop of the new province. Don Manuel Arias was the first governor of Paraguay; and Don Diego Gongora, then in Spain, was appointed governor of Rio de la Plata.

Don Diego Gongora embarked for his government at Lisbon, where some private persons having asked leave to put some goods, in his name, on board the ship that was to carry him, he readily granted it against the express letter of his instructions; the same indulgence having been often granted by other governors, and no notice taken of it. But, whether he had enemies or rivals who narrowly watched all his motions, or that he proceeded too openly, he had scarce put to sea, when he was impeached before the royal council of the Indies

Indies, which immediately dispatched a commissary, called Meloné, to take informations against him, and proceed to try him, in case there appeared sufficient grounds to think him guilty.

MELONE, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, found all the inhabitants charmed with their new governor; and was even given to understand, that, his errand having transpired, measures had been concerted to send him back, before he could perform it. Some days after, he and the Jesuits quarrelled; on what account, I have not been able to discover; but, as he, probably, behaved with extraordinary passion on the occasion, the inhabitants thought proper to take advantage of it to rid themselves of so disagreeable a guest. Some of them, therefore, went to father Perlino, rector of the college, and advised him to name a judge conservator; which, at the same time that it secured him against the attempts of Meloné, from whom, they insinuated, he had every thing to fear, would disable this officer from proceeding against the governor. I shall speak elsewhere of this privilege of naming a conservator, and of the powers annexed to his office.

FATHER Perlino, too little versed in matters of this nature to distinguish between those conjunctures, in which his order might make use of this privilege granted by the popes, and authorized by the catholick kings in all their dominions, and those, in which it could not take place, followed the advice that was given him, not penetrating the views of those who gave it; he even did it without consulting his provincial, as he ought to have done; and, what was probably worse, named to that office, by the advice of the same persons, one of those who were most incensed against Meloné. Be that as it will, the judge conservator immediately issued a decree against the commissary, which

which obliged him to return to Spain. But he was no sooner arrived there, than he complained of the rector to the council of the Indies, which, considering the decree of the judge conservator as an attempt on their authority, applied to the general of the jesuits for justice on Perlino, who had named him. The general immediately complied in the most ample manner. He disavowed the rector; deposed him; declared him incapable of any further superiority; and ordered him back to Peru. But those, who made a tool of him, did not escape with the bare mortification of seeing their conduct condemned in his. An order was sent to Buenos Ayres to take cognizance of this intrigue; and all those, who were found to have had a hand in it, were fined, to the amount, it is said, of eighty thousand gold crowns. During this prosecution, the province of Rio de la Plata was erected into a bishoprick.

FATHER Gonzalez, having been obliged to desist from his attempt to reconnoitre the Uruguay from its sources to its discharge into the Paraguay, applied himself, and with good success, to the establishment of some reductions on the banks of that part of it which he had discovered; and, in the year 1627, undertook to survey the province called *Tapé*, situated between that of Uruguay and Brazil. This country is, properly speaking, a chain of mountains running two hundred leagues, from within eight days journey of the Uruguay to within fifteen leagues of the sea of Brazil. These mountains are divided by several vallies fit for pasture and every kind of grain, and intersected by numerous streams of excellent water.

THE commonest bird in this country is a very pretty white one called *Guirapé*, which signifies ringing bird, being remarkable for its note, which is extremely loud, and very like the sound of a bell.

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Among the trees found in the forests, there is a kind of palm tree scarce bigger than the Indian rush, whose bark yields a thread equal in fineness to the best silk. The Indians make bow-strings of it. There are other palm trees here, near the sources of the river called Igai, six score feet high, which differ from the generality of the trees, of the same name, in this, that, as they grow, they produce tufts of branches in form of a crown; and these branches afterwards fall off of themselves, leaving knots behind them, which harden to such a degree, that one would take them for bone rather than wood. The fruit of this tree is little inferior to that of the European palm tree; and, accordingly, the inhabitants live chiefly upon it for several months of the year.

THERE is another tree here still more singular, but it is found too in other countries. It is called the *Escapis*. They pretend, that after sun-rise there falls from it a very plentiful shower, while all the trees about it are perfectly dry. To conclude, there are some transparent pebbles in this country, which in Europe, it is said, would be worth money.

BUT, perhaps, the greatest singularity of the whole country is an amphibious animal pretty common, especially in all the marshy places of the eastern part of the country, that resembles a sheep, all to its having the teeth and claws of a tiger, and surpassing that animal in fierceness and cruelty. Accordingly, it never appears without causing a general consternation among the Indians, who have scarce any method of avoiding its fury. It is to no purpose to climb up a tree, when these terrible creatures sally out of their marshes, which they generally do in large numbers; for they either root up the tree, in which they find any one has taken shelter, or remain at the foot of it, till the wretch-
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ed prisoners, exhausted with hunger, tumble down for want of strength to support themselves. When the indians have the good fortune to kill any of these creatures, they make of its skin a coat, called *Mo* in the Guarani language, which is likewise that of Tapé. Perhaps this is the name of the animal itself, for we are not told what it is.

THE Indians of Tapé are a colony of the Guaranis, but a very ancient one, and the least vicious of any. They are naturally mild; and there has not been discovered, in all south America, a people better disposed to receive the light of the gospel, or more constant and zealous after receiving it. The love of liberty had inspired them with a great aversion to strangers, and they were too well intrenched in their mountains to be reduced by force. The apostles of Paraguay, however, met with no other difficulty in gaining them over to the Christian religion, than that of getting to them to preach it. Accordingly, the Tapés, for a long time past, have made so considerable a part of the reductions of the Uruguay, that their name is often given, indifferently, to all the christians that compose these establishments.

BUT, how well soever the Tapés were disposed to listen to father Gonzalez, he could spend no more time among them, than what was requisite to reconnoitre their country; and this precipitate return, it is probable, was occasioned by some sudden call for his assistance in the reductions already established. Be that as it will, these reductions were attacked, the year following, by a great number of infidels headed by an apostate cacique, and father Gonzalez and another jesuit gloriously lost their lives, with two other jesuits, rather than abandon their flocks in this emergency. A third jesuit was soon after surprised by another apostate cacique; and, after vari-

ous torments, stoned to death. But these unprovoked insults were soon revenged. The new christians, reinforced by a troop of Spanish horse raised at the expence of a Portuguese gentleman; a considerable party of Guarani Indians raised by father Boroa another jesuit, settled at St. John of Corrientes; and four hundred Indians of those under the conduct of some fathers of St. Francis, (the city of the Assumption having refused to give any assistance for the purpose,) attacked the infidels in their turn; killed great numbers of them; made a great many prisoners; and dispersed [the rest beyond a possibility of rallying to give any further uneasiness. Their next care was to recover the precious remains of the deceased martyrs, which were translated to the Assumption, and there interred with all the marks of honour due to such strenuous assertors of the rights of mankind, and zealous preachers of the gospel.

THE peace procured by this victory was soon troubled by a more formidable enemy. The year following, the Mamelus made an irruption into the Guayra. The first reduction that felt their fury was that of the Incarnation. Most of the profelytes that composed it dispersed time enough to save themselves; but a great number of Neophytes, employed at a distance in country labours, were carried off; so that there scarce remained any hopes of hindering this town from being entirely destroyed, when father Montayo posted to it, and by his presence and his discourse put in some measure, a stop to the consternation that had seized the remaining inhabitants, whom he exhorted to take up arms, in order to rescue their captive brethren; but he thought proper, that the fathers Mendoza and Domencechi, their pastors, should first go with some of the principal men among them

them, and see what they could obtain from these banditti by fair means.

THEY, therefore, immediately set out; but they no sooner appeared in sight of the camp, than they were saluted by a shower of arrows and musket balls, by which father Mendoza was slightly wounded, and one of the Neophytes killed. He made up, however, with his companion, to the Mamelus, who were so stunned at his resolution, that, few endeavouring to stop them, they at last penetrated to the commander of the gang. They told him, that, unless he consented to release the prisoners he had taken, and retire without doing any further mischief, he must expect to see all the Indians of the reductions upon his hands; and then finding him unwilling to part with his prey, went themselves and assembled the poor creatures, and carried them off unmolested, the whole camp appearing thunderstruck, in a manner, at so undaunted a proceeding.

THIS unexpected success encouraged father Montayo to pay the Mamelus a visit in his turn; and he threatened them with the anger of heaven, and the indignation of his catholic majesty, their sovereign, Portugal and all the Portuguese dominions being subject to Spain. But he spoke to men, that feared neither God nor king; and all the satisfaction he could obtain, was to hear orders immediately given to attack the reduction. This, however, was but a mere bravado; for the Mamelus soon turned another way, giving out, that they had no design but upon the wild Indians. Though father Montayo judged that little stress was to be laid upon this report, yet, finding that it contributed greatly to quiet the Neophytes, he seemed to give credit to it. The Mamelus, however, did not appear again for a long time, and the

missionaries made the best use of this calm, to strengthen and extend their spiritual conquests. Among other new reductions, one was formed upon an eminence, which the natives call the cemetery of *Pay Zumo*, because, according to the ancient tradition already taken notice of, St. Thomas had interred there a great number of christians ; for which reason this new reduction was called by the name of that holy apostle.

1629. By this time, the number of reductions in the provinces of Guayra and Uruguay, and on the banks of the Parana, amounted to twenty one ; but many of them were as yet in a state of infancy, and some even but just traced out. The christians of most were as yet but novices in the faith ; and the number of the profelytes exceeded greatly that of the Neophytes. All, indeed, had renounced their grosser vices ; but the force of education and custom made them from time to time relapse into practices, that kept their pastors perpetually in alarm. In short, though there was not a single reduction among them, that did not, now and then, produce examples of the most heroic virtue, none, except some of the most ancient, had acquired consistency enough to banish all apprehensions from the breasts of those who governed them. One of the greatest obstacles these fathers had to contend with, after they had brought these Indians together, was the ascendancy their pretended conjurers had gained over them. For these impostors, however ignorant, had often art enough to inveigle many, who were otherwise very well affected to the christian religion.

1630. In the year 1630, Don Lewis de Cespedez put into a port of Brazil, in order to repair from thence by land to the capital of Paraguay,

guay, of which he had been lately appointed governor. This route had been expressly forbid, for some years past, under the severest penalties, even to the supreme magistrates, lest the Spaniards should commit, on their journey, any disorders that might scandalize the Neophytes; but Don Lewis pretended to have a special licence for taking this road. It is, besides, certain, that the governors may, as often as they think proper, visit the reductions within their province; but, on such occasions, they are very cautious whom they chuse to wait upon them. Be that as it will, the new governor happened to be at St. Paul of Piratiningue at a time, that nine hundred Mamelus and two thousand Indians were preparing to break into the province of Guayra, under the conduct of Anthony Rasposo, one of their most famous commanders. The governor, after travelling by land a little further, embarked on a river, which brought him to the reduction of Loretto, where he made some stay; and father Montayo caused the greatest honours to be paid to him.

DON LEWIS repaid these expressions of duty with very harsh language, which the missionaries received with great modesty, and without making the least reply. The governor, however, could not refuse his admiration to the order that reigned in this town; though, on father Montayo's applying to him for assistance against the Mamelus, whom he heard were already on their march, and had reason to think would pay him a visit, he told him he could not give him any.

Soon after father Mola, pastor of St. Anthony, having refused to restore to these banditti, a cacique that had made his escape from them, and taken refuge in that reduction, alleging, that, as the man was born free, and, besides, under the king's pro-

tection, that he could not, in honour or justice, deliver him up, they immediately fell upon his Indians; put to the sword all those who attempted to make any resistance; butchered, even at the foot of the altar, such as fled there for refuge; loaded the principal men with chains; and plundered the church. Some of them having entered the missionary's house, in hopes of finding a considerable booty there; on meeting with nothing but a thread bare soutane, and a few tattered shirts, shewed them to the Indians, telling them, they must be very foolish to take for masters, strangers who came into their country, merely because they had not wherewith to live in their own; that they would be much happier in Brazil, where they would want for nothing, and would not be obliged to maintain their pastors.

THESE, no doubt, were fine speeches to be made to people loaded with chains, and whose relations and countrymen had been but that instant butchered under their eyes. Accordingly, those, who spoke in this manner, soon perceived, that their promises were received with the contempt they deserved; and, thereupon, continued their violences. Father Mola in vain threw himself at the commander's feet; represented to him the innocence and simplicity of these poor Indians; conjured him by all that was most sacred, to set bounds to the fury of the soldiers; and, at last, threatened him with the indignation of heaven. He had often disarmed the most cruel canibals by his tears and his entreaties, but now found that it is much harder to make an impression on christians, who have once shut their eyes against the laws of God and man, than on barbarians and infidels. Having told these savages, that, after so many cruelties and profanations, there was scarce any room left

left to hope for their salvation, they answered him, that it was enough to be baptized to gain admittance into heaven; and that they would make their way into it, though God himself should oppose their entrance.

AFTER the departure of these miscreants, some of the prisoners they had taken found means to make their escape, and returned to join father Mola, and such of their brethren, as had time to take refuge in the woods. The father, they found amidst the ruins of his reduction; sunk in the deepest sorrow. However, he roused himself at the sight of them, and persuaded them to retire, along with him to the reduction of the Incarnation. But, after escaping the fury of the Mamelus, he was on the point of perishing by the hands of those for whose sake he had exposed himself to it. Several of the Indians took it into their heads, that he might have had a private understanding with these wretches; and, having communicated their sentiments to others, they were about proceeding to extremities, when his mildness, and his arguments to prove how ill grounded their suspicions were, and the unshaken fidelity of the rest, who had not given into this error, luckily disarmed them. But, if he escaped this danger, it was only to fall into a much greater. A large body of idolatrous Indians, who knew nothing of the misfortune befallen the reduction of St. Anthony, happening to come there the day following, and not meeting with any thing but heaps of rubbish and dead bodies, immediately concluded, that he was the author of all the mischief; set out in the tracks of him and his company, in order to sacrifice him to their revenge; and missed him but by a few hours.

THE reduction of St. Michael lay much nearer to St. Anthony's, than that of the Incarnation; but

but, for that very reason, father Mola did not think proper to retreat to it, as most exposed to the enemy; and the same consideration induced the fathers Mendoza and Mansilla, who were stationed there, to advise their Neophytes, the moment they heard of what had happened at St. Anthony's, to withdraw to the Incarnation; which, they represented to them, the Mamelus would not venture to attack, when they heard that so many men were assembled there, all upon their guard, and prepared to give them a warm reception. Several approved this measure; and father Mansilla, for fear they should change their opinion, immediately conducted them there. He then returned to St. Michael; and, as he could not prevail on the Indians he had left behind him, to follow their townsmen, he persuaded them to take shelter in the woods. As to him and his colleague, they remained in the reduction with two young christians, to see the end of this storm, though in no small danger from their own flock. The suspicions first formed against father Mola had, by this time, it seems, gained several reductions. And it is more than probable, that the Mamelus had instilled them, since they were known, for certain, to have put the same stratagem in practice on many other occasions, in order to incesse the Indians against their most zealous defenders. Be that as it will, a detachment was immediately sent from the Incarnation to St. Michael, to withdraw such of the inhabitants as might have returned there from the woods; but it was unfortunately intercepted by a considerable body of Mamelus, who threw every man of those that composed it, into chains, and then marched to St. Michael, which they reduced to a heap of rubbish. On this occasion father Mendoza was wounded with an arrow. The alarm now became general all over the province of Guayray

array. However, as the reduction of Jesus-Maria, where Guiravara, a powerful cacique, and formerly a cruel enemy of the christians, had remained since his conversion, was very populous, the Neophytes flattered themselves, that the Mamelus would not attack it; and flocked to it, from all quarters, as to a secure asylum. But in this they greatly deceived themselves, for want of knowing, that a second body of these banditti had taken the field. Emmanuel Morato, who commanded this body, approached Jesus-Maria so secretly, that the Neophytes there heard nothing of him till he was on the point of attacking it; and, even then, knew so little of him and his intentions, that they sent to him to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy.

MORATO made no answer to this message but by loading with chains, those who brought it. Upon this, father Maceta, pastor of this reduction, imagining that the commander would respect his character as a priest, though he paid no regard to his person, went out to meet him in his sacerdotal habits, with a crucifix carried before him. But this religious appearance, which, in the main, was not, perhaps, altogether so seasonable, served only to bring affronts upon him.

AN Indian cacique who accompanied him paid dearer for his courage; for, on his telling Morato, how much he was scandalized at this behaviour of christians to a priest, he was fired at by a Mamelus, and fell dead at the missionary's feet; and the father had like to have shared the same fate, on reproaching the brute who had fired the shot with his wanton cruelty.

At last, the enemy entered the reduction without any further opposition; and soon reduced it to the same condition, in which their fellow robbers had left those of St. Anthony and St. Michael.

Many

Many of them attempted to offer violence to some christian virgins, as chose to be butchered rather than yield to their brutal passion. Such of the Indians, who had not saved themselves by an early flight, were killed, or loaded with chains; and Guiravara and his wife happened to be of the number. The pastors of two other reductions had set out, in the mean time, with the Neophytes under their care, to the assistance of their distressed brethren; but they arrived too late to do any thing but pursue the Mamelus, now retiring with their captives, and rescue from them some of these unhappy creatures, who were brought to the Incarnation, where it was resolved, that the fathers Maceta and Mansilla should follow the enemy to Brasil, in order to complain, to the captain general of that kingdom, of the hostilities committed by the subjects of his government, in a country belonging to the catholic king his sovereign.

THESE fathers, accordingly, set out the same day, and soon came up with the Mamelus. At the sight of their Neophytes, chained together like galley slaves, Father Maceta could no longer contain his zeal and tenderness. He ran up to embrace them, in spite of the cock'd muskets with which he was threatened, and volleys of blows poured upon him at every step. At last, raising his voice, he beseeched the commander to restore to him his dear children, whom he had engendered in Jesus Christ, or admit him to carry the same chain with them. But his entreaties served only to procure him the treatment due to a fool and a madman. One of the officers, however, consented to let him have some of the prisoners, who had fallen to his share, on the father's promising him a ransom for them.

ENCOURAGED by this dawn of success, the father turned another way; and, putting about his neck a chain

chain, to which several Neophytes, and, among the rest, Guiravara and his spouse were fastened, he declared he would not part with it, till he obtained their liberty ; and, addressing himself to the cacique, who before baptism had used father Maceta very cruelly, kissing his chain, he told him, that he was overjoyed to be able to shew him on this occasion, that he harboured no resentment of his ill usage, and assured him, that he would expose himself to every danger, in order to procure him his liberty. So many objects, capable of melting the hardest hearts, might, one would imagine, make an immediate impression on the officer, to whom these captives belonged ; but they for some time served only to irritate him, and the missionary was more than once in danger of having his brains blown out on his refusing to retire. His constancy, however, got the better, at last, of the cruelty of this officer, who gave him up Guiravara, his wife, and six other prisoners, whom the father immediately sent to the Incarnation under an escort.

FATHER Maceta then returned to father Manfilla ; and both, accompanied only by three Indians, continued to follow their prisoners at some distance, without any thing to live upon, but such wild fruits as they could gather in the woods, or making any stop but what was necessary to assist those, whom their conductors abandoned, when they could drag them no further. These were sick women, and persons advanced in years, who in vain claimed the rights of nature, and the service of their husbands and children ; and were all so worn down, that many of them, it is probable, who, more dead than alive, made a shift to crawl into the woods to look for something to support nature, perished there by wild beasts. The two missionaries baptized the catechumens, and confessed the christians ; and comforted them all, by placing before
their

their eyes the celestial rewards, with which their patience and resignation would be speedily recompensed.

In this manner the fathers travelled till they reached St. Paul of Piratiningue, where, though the jesuits had still a college, they found it impossible to make them stay ever so short a time to recruit their forces exhausted by so many days constant fasting and fatigue ; for, as they immediately saw, that they could expect no redress from the magistrates there, who enjoyed but a mere shadow of authority, they made what haste they could to Rio Janeiro. As soon as they arrived there, they presented two petitions to the sovereign council, to obtain the enlargement of their Neophytes, and a safeguard against any future attacks upon their properties and persons. But all the answer they could obtain was, that the captain general of Brazil could alone grant their request ; upon which they set out for the bay of All-Saints.

Don Diego Lewis Oliveyra, governor and captain general of this kingdom, received them very kindly ; acknowledged the justice of their demands ; and appointed a commissary to repair with them to St. Paul of Piratiningue, in order to see ample and immediate satisfaction done them ; but, as Don Diego seemed to have no thoughts of giving this commissary a sufficient force to exact obedience to his commands, the missionaries conjectured, that he named him merely for form sake. Don Oliveyra had two reasons for not going, on this occasion, the lengths he otherwise would have done. The first was, that the Dutch, already masters of the coast of Fernambuc, threatened to overrun Brazil, and all his forces were little enough to make head against them ; the other, that the fifteen thousand captives, whom the Mamelus had

car-

carried off with them from the province of Guayra, having been already sold in the different ports of Brazil, and many of them to persons in office, he was afraid of disobliging some powerful families, by ordering them to be set at liberty, especially at a time, when he thought himself under a necessity of maintaining a good intelligence with all the inhabitants.

THESE reasons, after all, were by many persons judged insufficient to justify Oliveyra's passiveness in a conjuncture, where the honour of the Portuguese nation, and the interest of religion, were equally concerned; and several have since attributed the success of the Dutch, in Brazil, to the countenance afforded to the Mamelus; the avarice of those, who made a hand of the depopulation of the churches of Paraguay; and the cruelty, with which so many thousand christians, carried off into slavery, were treated; in so much, that numbers of them perished merely through want, excess of labour, and ill usage. On this occasion, a Portuguese gentleman, called Jerom Vega; advised father Maceta to wait, in person, on his catholic majesty with an account of these enormities, and even offered to supply him with money for the voyage; but the missionary, having received certain intelligence of the Mamelus preparing to make a second irruption into the province of Guayra, thought proper to return, with his companion to their churches. In their way to Rio Janeiro, they had the good fortune to recover twelve of their Neophytes; but, on their arrival at St. Paul, they saw themselves shut up in a kind of prison.

THE commissary of the captain general, who had staid behind them at the bay of All-Saints, arrived soon after; but had scarce entered upon the execution of his office, when a formal declaration
made

made by the inhabitants, that they would suffer themselves to be unbaptized rather than permit him to proceed any further, and an attempt made upon his life, determined him to slip away as soon as he could from so lawless a crew of banditti. On his departure, however, the two jesuits, whom the rector of the college had reclaimed, were released; and immediately set out for their missions, where they had the further mortification of finding numbers of their Neophytes more persuaded than ever, that they had assembled them merely to betray them into the hands of their most cruel enemies.

It was to no purpose these fathers put them in mind of the great trouble and expence, fatigue and danger, they had undergone, to preserve them from the fury, or deliver them out of the hands, of the Portuguese of Brazil; it was in vain they asked them, what interest their pastors could have in betraying them into the hands of strangers, from whom they had nothing to expect. Despair had rendered them deaf to all these arguments. Many of them were on the point of revolting openly, and even retaliating, on their pastors, the ill usage they had received from their enemies, when Guiravara took publicly their defence, though he already began to grow cool in the christian faith, which, it is said, he soon after entirely renounced. He could not hear what was alledged against the missionaries without treating it as the blackest calumny. He, even, went from reduction to reduction, in order to publish his obligations to father Maceta, who had exposed himself to every thing in order to rescue him from slavery; adding, that it was neither this father's fault, nor that of father Mansilla, if all the captives had not recovered their liberty.

1630-31. ABOUT this time, the superiors of the jesuits were obliged to withdraw the two missionaries they had stationed in the valley of Calchaqui, and who, though they scarce made any conversions, were of great service in preventing the Spaniards from attacking its inhabitants and thereby bringing upon themselves an enemy they were seldom able to cope with. Accordingly, these fathers no sooner disappeared, than the Spaniards fell upon them without any provocation; as though the poor natives, on ceasing to be their enemies, were obliged to become their slaves. But these violators of the rights of mankind soon received the retribution due to such wickedness. At first indeed, they defeated a body of Calchaquis, reinforced by a considerable number of Indians under command, who, after killing their masters, had taken refuge among them; but they were afterwards worsted in their turn. A new citadel built to awe these Indians, and the town of London, were taken and destroyed by them; the neighbourhood of Salta plundered; and the province of Tucuman laid open to the incursions of an enemy, who, for ten years together, kept it in continual alarms.

THE jesuits flattered themselves, that they should speedily be indemnified for the obstacle, which the Spaniards had by this war so wantonly raised to the introducing of the gospel elsewhere. In the vast forests that lie between the Parana and the Uruguay, some of these missionaries had lately discovered a small nation called *Caaiguas*, that is to say inhabitants of the forests. The *Caaiguas* have no fixed habitation, but are constantly roving up and down in small parties. They build little slight huts, covered with branches, in the places where they make any stay; but they never lay up any provisions, depending entirely on their arrows, with which they kill, indifferently, both water and

land game. When this resource fails them, they devour worms, pismires, vipers, and such other reptiles, with which the country abounds. They likewise eat tigers, when they can kill any ; and monkeys, whom they pursue to the tops of the highest trees, which they climb as nimbly as the monkeys themselves. But they often lose their pains, for the monkeys, when the Indians think they have made sure of them, leap from one tree to another ; and that, too, loaded with their young ones. Their best food is the flesh of an animal, probably the same with the Anta already described. They make nothing of grappling these animal and wrestling with them, till they have thrown them down, when they knock out their brains. They likewise make great use of wild honey, with which they make a kind of hydromel, of so hot a nature, that it is said to make them insensible to the greatest cold. The reason given for this nation being so thin, is that the tigers devour numbers of their women and children.

As to the persons of the Caaiguas, they are, in general, hump-backed, and bow-necked. Some of them, however, are tolerably well made ; and their women scarce yield in whiteness to the spanish, which is, no doubt, owing to their residing constantly in the thickest parts of their forests. The men wear nothing but a few scraps of skins, which scarce hide any thing. The women make use of a kind of apron made in form of a net with nettle thread, that reaches from the waist to the knees. It is assured, that the skins of these Indians harden to such a degree, that they pass unhurt, like serpents, through the most thorny bushes. Their language is very hard to learn, and their pronunciation very harsh and disagreeable. It is a kind of hissing, so little articulate, that one would imagine their words did nothing but roll in their throats.

THESE

THESE Indians, after all, are very peaceable, though so wild, that the Spaniards have never been able to civilize one of them. All those, who fell into their hands, suffered themselves to starve, rather than take any nourishment ; and, while they lived, did nothing but foam like madmen, and bite the chains they were bound with. Even the missionaries, who found means to draw some of them into the reductions, could not, with all their care and attention, keep them alive for any time. The minute they saw themselves cooped up in a town, they fell into a melancholy, which soon turned to a consumption. In this sad condition, however, good usage rendered them docile, and the missionaries improved the happy change to give them all the instruction they were capable of receiving, and then baptize them. But none of them survived this ceremony for any long time. As to founding reductions in their forests, it was judged impracticable by many missionaries, who penetrated into the center of them with infinite danger and fatigue. One of these missionaries, however, having prevailed upon eighteen of them to follow him, though he took infinite pains to qualify them for baptism, was obliged to defer it to their last moments ; for, with all his tenderness, he found it impossible to save one of them. There are, in the midst of the Caaiguas, other Indians, who, though known by the same name, speak a different language, and have no communication with them. They are said to be warlike ; but, in fact, they resemble beasts of prey more than human creatures ; for all their exploits consist in surprizing travellers, whom they murder and devour. When they, themselves, happen to be taken, they behave like the Caaiguas in the same situation, and will not suffer any wounds they have received to be dressed.

As the missionaries could obtain no safeguard for their churches, they were greatly surprized, that the Mamelus so long delayed paying them a second visit. But it soon appeared, that these banditti waited only to conclude an alliance with the *Tupis*, the most barbarous of the Brazilian Indians. Accordingly, they attacked, the year following, the reduction of St. Paul, whose inhabitants were so little upon their guard, that father Suarez, their pastor, knew nothing of their approach, till the commander entered his house pistol in hand. The father, at the sight of him, fell prostrate at his feet; and beseeched him, with tears in his eyes, to spare a parcel of poor christians, who had done nothing to deserve the chains he had prepared for them. But the brute answered him only, by clapping his pistol to his breast, which the missionary calmly opened, telling him, that he was satisfied to lay down his life for his flock, and conjuring him in the name of Jesus Christ, to content himself with it. This speech seemed to make some impression on the officer, and he went out without speaking a single word. But it was only to give orders for putting to the sword all those who should make the least resistance; and these orders were but too punctually obeyed. He, then, came back to father Suarez; gave him great marks of esteem; but would not permit him to take leave of his beloved Neophytes, several of whom, however, made their escape and fled to the reductions of St. Francis Xavier and of Jesus-Maria lately established in the neighbourhood of the cascade of Guibay, where they met the inhabitants of the Incarnation, who, having received timely notice of the enemy's approach, abandoned their habitations to avoid them.

FATHER Montayo no sooner heard of the Mamelus having entered the province of Guayra, than he

he made all the haste in his power to the assistance of the reductions most exposed to their fury. But, on his finding no inhabitants either in that of St. Paul, or that of the Incarnation, he thought the best thing he could do, was to put himself at the head of all the fugitive and wandering Neophytes he could meet with, and conduct them towards Villarica. But he soon heard that the inhabitants of this place were before hand with him, and had picked up all those who had escaped the Mamelus and put them to work for their private benefit. Upon this, he immediately repaired to Villarica; complained bitterly to the magistrates of this injustice; and when he could obtain no redress from them, dispatched father Diaz Tano to the Assumption to demand it of Don Lewis Cespedez the governor, and conjure him to take some effectual measures for the safety of the reductions.

Don Lewis would scarce listen to the missionary. He even told him, he had heard from Villarica, that the jesuits made a great noise about trifles; adding, that they every where made themselves very odious. The father retired without making any reply to these disagreeable compliments; but that day, or the day following, presented a petition to him, in the name of his catholic majesty, to exert himself in behalf of the christians of Guayra. But Don Lewis would not so much as answer it. This was not the only proof of ill will, which this governor had given the reductions. Some time before, he had issued an order forbidding all persons, without exception, to cross the Parana, in their way from the province of Uruguay to that of Guayra, or from the latter to the former; and thereby the missionaries, and even their provincial often obliged to hurry from province to province on the most pressing affairs, were laid under

a necessity of taking a round of one hundred leagues, nor could all the representations made to him on the inconveniences necessarily attending such long journeys, at a time when the province of Guayra was overrun by the Mamelus, make him consent to the least qualification or exception. He even had given some very broad hints, that he intended to submit, to encomenderoes, all the Indians directed by the fathers of the company. It is, however, probable, that he never attempted to put this design into execution, as he soon received a check by the audience of Charcas declaring this edict of his prejudicial to his catholic majesty's service.

THE provincial of the jesuits had no sooner received this declaration, than he immediately set out for the province of Guayra. On his arrival at Villarica he received advice, that the Mamelus had again taken the field, and were at the reduction of St. Francis Xavier, where he prevailed on some of the Spaniards to follow him to the assistance of the inhabitants. But they came too late; the enemy had already entirely demolished it, and were now entrenched on its ruins, after loading all the christians with irons. The Spaniards, however, attacked them with great resolution, till one of them was killed and another wounded, when they thought proper to sound the retreat. Father Sylveira, who governed this church, behaved with more constancy; for he stuck to the Mamelus, till, out of fifteen hundred families of which his flock consisted, he had the good fortune to save upwards of five hundred persons. In the mean time, so great a terror had seized the inhabitants of St. Joseph, situated at no great distance from St. Francis Xavier, that it was found impossible to quiet them. Several dispersed into the woods; the rest, to the number of four hundred, were, fortunately,

unately, kept together by the cares of the provincial; and, with the remains of St. Francis Xavier, formed into a new reduction.

1631. THE provincial, after this, repaired to the canton of Tayaoba, which, it was reported, the enemy were preparing to attack; and, accordingly, he had scarce arrived there, when he received certain accounts of their approach. Upon this, therefore, he immediately assembled the missionaries of three very populous and flourishing reductions situated in this country, in order to consult with them, what was to be done in so pressing a danger. The opinions were divided. Some were for exhorting the Neophytes to defend themselves bravely, in hopes that even the wild Indians would not refuse to assist them against a common enemy. This, they said, was the only way left to prevent the entire dissipation of this infant church. The rest represented the little reason there was to expect, that Indians, ill armed and quite undisciplined, should be able to make a stand against veteran troops, provided with fire arms, and headed by able officers; and whom, besides, an useless resistance could only serve to exasperate; that it would, therefore, be more advisable to conduct all those, that could be prevailed upon to remove, to some other province; and that, how small soever their number might happen to be, 'a great deal fewer would be lost this way, than by venturing to resist an enemy, whom there was so little probability of their being able to withstand.

THIS last advice was approved by the provincial, who, accordingly, gave immediate orders for conducting all the Neophytes into the neighbourhood of the great fall of the Parana, that, in case of pursuit, they might be able, by just crossing the river, to make a barrier of it, which it would be an

easy matter to defend against the Mamelus. This done, he assembled the Neophytes themselves; exhorted them not to separate from their pastors, who, they must be sensible, had their welfare greatly at heart. He then set forward himself to prepare every thing for their reception; but was scarce set out, when, the danger growing greater and greater every moment, it was thought necessary to follow him. The missionaries hitherto had some reason to hope, that all the christians were willing to follow them; but they had no sooner given orders to begin the march, than it appeared they had greatly imposed upon themselves. Several refused to come out of their houses at any rate; and a great many, who had already set out, were so frightened at the badness of the roads, that they returned back again. Some openly revolted; and Father Mendoza, was on the point of being murdered in endeavouring to stop one of the most incensed. But the poor creatures, soon paid dear for their disobedience, as all those, who remained in their reductions, or attempted to find out other retreats, than those agreed upon by the missionaries, fell into the hands of the Mamelus, or were taken by some wild Indians, who butchered some of them, and made slaves of the rest. Some Spaniards even were not ashamed to take advantage of the distress of these churches, and express more pleasure at their destruction, than they had shewn uneasiness at their establishment.

THOSE, who retreated with the missionaries, made such good speed, that, though the Mamelus pursued them, none fell into their hands but a few laggards. On this occasion, these banditti plundered the inhabitants of St. Peter, and the Conception, through which they passed; but carried off none but two women of some note, these Indians having the character of not being fit for service. Father Salazar,

Salazar, however, who had the direction of the reduction where this act of violence was committed, had like to have paid very dear for it. The Indians thought proper to make him responsible for it; and some of the most furious fell upon him, while he was saying mass; threatened to kill him in case he did not oblige the Mamelus to give up their prey; stripped him of his sacerdotal robes; tore his gown off his back; plundered his house; and even attempted to wrest out of his hands the sacred vessels, so that he at last found himself under a necessity of retiring through the woods, accompanied by two children only, in order to join the other missionaries, who, like himself, had been despoiled of their flocks; and many of whom had been left without a single Neophyte.

HE found them overwhelmed with grief, and in the most absolute want of every thing; without a single christian that did not weep the loss of a father or a mother, a wife or a husband, a son or a daughter, murdered or loaded with chains before their eyes. The most pressing want was that of provisions; they directly sowed the little grain they had saved, while the provincial went in search of more immediate assistance. But they might as well have spared themselves this trouble; for two expresses soon arrived, one on the heels of the other, with an account, that an army of the Mamelus had made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Villarica; that another swarm of Banditti had issued from the south coast of Brazil; and that even the spanish towns and settlements were threatened with a visit from them.

As this account agreed with what a Mamelus had some time before told one of the missionaries, father Montayo, superior of the missions, sent to summon the commandant of Villarica, in the king's name, and in virtue of his majesty's orders, to
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send him immediate assistance ; and, on his receiving for answer, that it was not possible to give him any, he gave orders for evacuating the reductions of St. Ignatius and Loretto, the only still subsisting in the province of Guayra, and the first that had been founded there. These towns might compare with the most flourishing among the Spanish cities in Paraguay ; and even surpassed them in the beauty and largeness of their churches. As to the inhabitants themselves, they were not to be distinguished from the old christians, but by their superior innocence and piety. They had great herds of black cattle, bred from some which their missionaries had brought from very distant places ; all their lands were well cultivated ; they raised cotton in great quantities, so as not only to have enough for their own use, but wherewith to make large donations to such reductions, as were not yet in a condition to procure themselves a sufficient quantity of that useful article ; and even to poor Spaniards ; and there was the greatest reason to hope, that the other reductions of the province would soon obtain the same degree of perfection.

BUT this fine appearance, after giving so much joy to the authors of it, was now become a foundation for equal concern, as they could not but apprehend, that these Neophytes would expose their lives and liberties to the greatest danger rather than abandon such fine establishments, and the fruits of so many years labour, which they now were just beginning to taste, in order to look out for an exile in a remote country ; and this, too, without more than a bare probability of being able to reach it, though with the greatest certainty, in a manner, of being reduced, on their arrival there, to the utmost misery and distress. How great, therefore, must the surprize of these fathers have been

been, when, on the very first proposal they made to the Neophytes of preparing to part with every thing they could not conveniently carry away along with them, they unanimously answered, "we are indebted to you, fathers, for the inestimable blessing of being christians, and we stand in need of your assistance to continue so ; therefore, wherever you go, we will cheerfully follow. If hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and the other inconveniences inseparable from so long a journey, prove fatal to our aged fathers and mothers, our wives and little ones, we shall comfort ourselves with the thoughts of their having exposed themselves to these dangers, difficulties, and distresses, merely to preserve their religion ; and that God himself will be their reward. In fine, should we come to want support and refreshment for our bodies, the bread of angels, which we are not afraid to be deprived of, as long as you remain with us, will give us strength and courage to encounter every evil."

THESE sentiments were not the effect of a transitory fervour ; for the proper signal of departure had no sooner been given in the two reductions, than all the inhabitants stript their churches and houses, with a holy insensibility, of every thing they could rescue from the rapacity of their enemies. This done, they embarked upon the Paranapané, which soon brought them into the Parana ; and then descended this last as far as the great fall, in spite of all the inhabitants of Ciudad Real could do to retain them in their neighbourhood. All the Indians of the other reductions, whom their pastors could prevail upon not to stay behind, had either joined them already, or arrived soon after ; and the whole number amounted to two thousand five hundred families.

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BUT the pleasure the missionaries must have felt, at having conducted them so far, was greatly allayed by the misery to which they saw them reduced, and the remembrance of those left behind, who, they must know, were exposed to much greater; nor was it long before their grief received a considerable addition from a certain report, that the Mamelus, on finding the reductions of Loretto and Ignatius evacuated, had resolved to pursue the fugitives; and were, accordingly, making such forced marches to overtake them, that it was impossible to prevent their doing it, without making a barrier of a great cascade, above which they were now assembled; an undertaking, which required a great deal of time; and was, besides, attended with a great many difficulties.

THE greatest difficulty was that of conveying boats enough through the fall, to answer the purposes of the transmigrants when arrived at the bottom of it; and, next, that of conducting so great a number of men and women of all ages, and so many sick persons, for thirty leagues together, before they could reach the plain, through the most inhospitable country. But there was no time to lose in deliberation. In this pressing necessity, therefore, it was resolved to abandon the boats to the current, and they were all dashed to pieces; several Neophytes were drowned; others, sunk under the fatigues of an eight days march, at one time, over sands exposed to the fiery rays of a perpendicular sun, at another, over rugged rocks, bordered with precipices, where every false step proved fatal to the unhappy traveller. They were all, besides, heavily laden; some, with the baggage and others, with the sick; the women with their little ones; and the missionaries, with their chapels and pastoral solicitude. Accordingly, they all arrived more dead than alive at the end of their journey.

ney, where, to increase their distress, they soon fell short of provisions, though the reductions on the Parana had sent them all the refreshments they could possibly collect.

THIS scarcity made it impossible to remain here any longer, so that, after a few days repose, they found themselves obliged to begin a new march. To render it the easier, the missionaries divided them into four bodies, one of which had orders to coast the Parana ; two others, to direct their course through the woods on both sides of the river towards the reductions established on the Acaray and the Iguazu ; of the fourth, which consisted of those who were no longer in a condition to walk, some were embarked on boats sent them by the reductions just now mentioned ; but the greater number, for want of room, were obliged to be left behind on both sides of the great fall, where, for upwards of four months, they had nothing but wild fruits to live on. Those, however, who took advantage of the boats, were rather more unfortunate, as these boats were so small, and withal so deeply laden, that numbers of them overfet ; by means of which several of the passengers were drowned, and a great part of their little cargoes entirely lost. Upon this, therefore, they bethought themselves of making rafts with canes ; but they made them so ill, that most of them sunk with every thing that had been committed to them. Afflicting, however, as these losses were, the faith of the Neophytes triumphed over them.

It does not appear, that any of those, who travelled by land, perished in their journey. But when they were all united, some in the reduction of the nativity, on the Acaray ; and the rest, in that of St. Mary Major, on the Iguazu ; they increased the famine, that raged there before their arrival, in consequence of a bad harvest ; and this famine
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soon brought on a general sickness; which, in both reductions, carried off eleven hundred souls, and determined those who survived to disperse into the woods, in search of roots and wild fruits, where a great many of them perished by want, it not being in the power of their conductors, who themselves wanted every thing, to give them any other assistance, than that of preparing them to make a good end.

At length, the mortality ceased; and the missionaries found, that out of one hundred thousand souls, of which the church of Guayra was composed, there now remained with them but twelve thousand. Father Montoya formed two reductions with these melancholy remains, near a little river called *Iubaburrus*, which flows from the east into the Parana, and gave them the names of *Loretto* and *St. Ignatius*. But, as it was impossible to till or sow any lands, on account of the more immediate necessity of building houses for shelter, he bought ten thousand oxen, with the money allowed by way of salary to the missionaries of Guayra, and the proceeds of such effects saved out of the reductions of that province, as the Neophytes could do without.

The Spaniards, who had hitherto considered the reductions of this province, as little contributing to the security of their other settlements in the province of Guayra against the fury of the Mamelus, now began to see their mistake, when it was too late to repair it. Their own territories were soon covered with these Banditti, who every where drew after them large armies of infidels; and, when these hell hounds could no longer find any new christians to make slaves of, they fell upon the country seats and villages; and, afterwards, utterly destroyed Ciudad and Villarica, in spite of all the endeavours of the bishop of the Assumption, who came in person to intercede for them. Part of the
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inhabitants took refuge on the Paraguay, and the rest went in search of an asylum, even among their enemies. We shall speak, in another place, of the New Villarica, afterwards built by the inhabitants of the old.

THE year following, the Calchaquis, 1632. having been defeated by the Spaniards in several rencounters, prevailed on the jesuits to obtain a peace for them, though they had obliged themselves, by the most execrable oaths, never to give quarters to any Spaniards, except the fathers of the company, who, they said, had never done them any harm, but had, on the contrary, always zealously defended their liberty and the honour of their wives. But this calm was of very short duration. The barbarians soon renewed their hostilities, burning and plundering all before them; so that the viceroy of Peru found himself under a necessity of sending some forces to Tucuman against them. But, though these troops put a stop to their courses, they made no change in their sentiments. The jesuits, on their side, could neither assure them, that, in case they became christians, no attempts would be made on their liberty; nor yet persuade the Spaniards, that it was their real interest to authorize them to give them such assurances; an obstinacy the more surprizing, as the Spaniards were very far from being always in a condition to repress these Indians.

BUT what served most to signalize this year, was the surprizing conversion of all the inhabitants of the province of Tapé, which we have before taken notice of. Not only they invited the missionaries, and gave them the kindest reception; but several, to have a better title to their assistance, had already formed themselves into reductions, and built churches and houses to receive them. These establishments, however, were soon brought into great dan-

ger, by the attachment which some of the converted caciques still retained to their concubines ; and, though, in the end, they got the better of this shock, it may not be amiss to say something of the difficulties which often perplexed the missionaries in cases of the like nature.

I ALREADY observed, that, among the Guarani nations, every cacique had a right to take as many wives as he could maintain. Now, though it was an easy matter to persuade those, who were sincerely disposed to embrace the christian religion, to confine themselves to one wife, it was not so easy to determine, whether they should be obliged to keep her whom they had first married, or be permitted to chuse her they liked best among those, with whom they actually cohabited. It is well known, that divines differ in this point ; for which reason the missionaries, for a long time, followed the opinion, that each of them respectively thought was best grounded. At length, the superiors judging it highly proper to establish in these churches one uniform rule of conduct in an affair of so much importance, applied to the sovereign Pontiff, to know how they should govern themselves for the future.

FATHER de Lugo, in the memorial he drew up for this purpose, represented to his holiness, that the Guarani caciques considered their wives, rather as servants, than as companions ; that they dismissed them without ceremony, on the least dislike ; that they very often kept several together ; and, sometimes, even the mothers and the daughters ; that it was usual with them to make presents of their wives to their friends and vassals, and take them back again when they thought proper ; in fine, that some of them, on leaving one place to settle in another, left their wives behind them, to avoid the trouble of removing them, and took new ones in
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the places where they stopt. From these premises father de Lugo concluded, that there was no marriage among these Indians ; and alledged, besides, several reasons, why it would be dangerous to oblige them, on their conversion, to abide by the women, with whom they had first cohabited.

THE first reason was the difficulty of fixing on the woman, with whom they had first cohabited, as it was very probable they might not give a true answer, when interrogated on this head. The second, that this first wife might possibly have been the first wife of another. The third, that these Indians, after having been married in the face of the church, were often known to neglect, for another, the woman they had been obliged to acknowledge as their wife, because they did not love her. The fourth, that the obligation of confining themselves to the woman, with whom they had first cohabited, appeared so severe, that, on that account alone, several had refused to embrace the christian religion. In fine, that, in the marriages of the Guaranis, there was neither contract nor any other ceremony, by which the wife might be distinguished from the concubine. The Pope's answer was, that the two opinions, in the case proposed, being equally probable, there was no occasion for a dispensation to follow either ; and that the missionaries should act, on such occasions, in the manner they judged properest to secure the conversion of the infidels ; and this rule has been ever since observed.

IN that part of the country, which lies to the east of the Paraguay, and extends from that river to the Parana, where this last takes a turn towards the North-east, there is a chain of mountains that pours down a great number of rivers, some of which fall into the Paraguay, and the rest into the Parana. But those which flow eastwards have so

gentle a fall, that their motion is scarce discernible; whereas the others, tumbling from a greater height, are not only distinguishable by the rapidity of their course, but by the great quantity of mud which they carry from the marshes they rush through, and with which they render the waters of the Paraguay turbid to a considerable distance. Besides, they often overflow their banks; and, then, the whole country resembles a vast sea, with no other bounds but the mountains. This country is full of trees, distilling a gum which the inhabitants form into balls, so light and elastick, that they serve to play with. But what renders them still more valuable, is a virtue they are said to possess of curing the dysentery. Several of these balls have been brought to Spain.

THE heart of this country, which lies between the 19th and 22d degrees of South latitude, is inhabited by a people called *Itatines*. These Indians spoke the same language with the Guaranis, and seemed to be of the same origin, though, at the same time we are speaking of, they kept up very little communication with them. They were extremely vigorous and nimble; and running was so well studied and so favourite a diversion among them, that they obliged the runners to carry stones of a fixed weight, and even distributed prizes among them. As sure as any one among them died, a certain number of his relations threw themselves from a great height in order to accompany him in the other world; and this custom, along with the frequent disorders caused by the bad air in which they lived, hindered them from multiplying.

SUCH was a nation of Indians, whom father Ranconnier a jesuit, had lately undertaken to convert, though with very little hopes of success. He was even more than once on the point of falling a victim

to their prevention and jealousy, for which, however, it must be owned they had but too just grounds. A Portuguese priest, it seems, had, some years before, collected a considerable number of them under pretence of civilizing them, and instructing them in the christian religion; and, then, sold them to some of his countrymen, who were to carry them off to Brazil; but, unhappily for the wretch, the Itatines discovered his views, and murdered him. This alone would have been sufficient to make them mistrust father Ranconnier; but their suspicions were increased by another European, who was indiscreet enough to tell them, that all those who listened to this father might soon expect to see themselves slaves to the Spaniards.

THEY even began to take up arms, as if the Spaniards were on the point of entering their country, when some special marks of the protection of heaven on father Ranconnier suddenly changed their hearts, and brought them in such numbers about him for instruction, that he and other jesuits that came to his assistance, had proselytes enough to form four reductions in one year, under the names of *St. Joseph*, the *Angels*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*. The establishing of the company at Xerez would, no doubt, have tended greatly to the further progress of their mission; but, though the inhabitants had been a long time soliciting for it, the affair lingered so long, that all thoughts of it were at last laid aside. Certain it is, that the Spaniards did never sufficiently comprehend, how much it was their interest to keep and fortify this place, which might have secured to them the possession of all the course of the Paraguay, as far as the lake of the Xarayes; and that they have not been sufficiently upon their guard against the Mamelus, who have opened a road, on that side of South America, to their countrymen, for making

discoveries, in which the Spaniards should have been before hand with them.

OF this there happened a melancholy proof at the time we are speaking of ; a large gang of Mamelus, with an army of Tapés at their heels, having made a sudden irruption into the country. The first thing these banditti did, was to send two envoys to the reduction of St. Joseph, whose pastor they knew was absent, with a message to the corregidor, importing that he had nothing to fear, as they were marching against some nations in the neighbourhood, firmly resolved to chastise them for their insolent behaviour to father Ranconnier ; and that, if he would join them in so glorious a cause, he should soon be convinced of their zeal for the welfare both of the missionaries and their Neophytes. The corregidor gave into the snare. He ordered all his warriors to take up arms, and marched with them to the camp of the Mamelus, where they were no sooner arrived, than these miscreants loaded them with chains.

THE general then sent out a detachment to carry off all those, who still remained in the reduction ; and another, to attack that of the Angels ; but the pastor of the last had time enough to secure the retreat of part of its inhabitants. The rest were taken, with the missionary, whom the Mamelus detained for three days together, lest he should assist any of his Neophytes to make their escape. A third body of these banditti fell upon the reduction of St. Peter ; and partly by force, and partly by fraud, found means of getting all the inhabitants into their power, except seventy, who, having assembled about their pastor, bravely repulsed an equal number of Tapés, and thirty Mamelus. The pastor of St. Joseph had likewise the good fortune of obtaining, by his entreaties, the liberty of two caciques ; upon which several
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of the Tapes, charmed with his zeal for the welfare of his Neophytes, thought proper to put themselves under his conduct. But he soon after had the mortification of hearing, that all the rest of the caciques and other Itatine officers, having been tied to one chain, had the misfortune of being drowned in crossing the Parana. Soon after, the jesuits were informed, that the Mamelus, to render them odious to the Itatines, had renewed the calumny which they had formerly propagated with such success; namely, that the jesuits themselves had invited them; and it wrought so much upon the poor people, that several of them, through mere resentment, profaned the sacred vessels, and even formed a design against the life of one of their pastors. But means were at last found to disabuse them, and even restore the reductions, by degrees, to their former populousness.

THOSE on the Parana, which had for a 1633. long time enjoyed the sweets of an uninterrupted peace, were now tried in their turn; and the first trial they were put to, was of a very extraordinary kind, being the work of those who should have been their protectors; namely, the governor and the bishop of the province of Paraguay. The prelate had visited them a few years before, and bestowed the highest praises both on the Neophytes and their missionaries. As to the governor, his conduct, ever since his promotion to that employment, had been such, as left these new christian colonies no reason to expect any favour from him. It seemed even surprizing, that he had not carried his malice against them, to still greater lengths.

THIS nobleman, it seems, had given orders to a Cacique but lately converted, to supply him with a certain number of Pirogues; but, though he had been obeyed with the greatest punctuality, yet,

as these boats happened to be too small for his use, he fell into so a violent passion with the Cacique, and the Indians, who came along with him to deliver them, that he immediately sent the poor people to prison. He even forgot himself so far, as to threaten, with personal service, all the christians of the reductions on the Parana. These acts of violence and rash threats made so great an impression on the Neophytes, that the missionaries had much ado to contain them. But it proved still more difficult to pacify them, in regard to a step of the bishop, which he could not have taken in a more critical conjuncture.

This prelate had, all on a sudden, taken it into his head, or at least, had been made to believe, that he might considerably increase the revenues of his church, by placing over the reductions of his diocese, pastors more dependent on him than the Jesuits; and, under pretence that the new christians under the conduct of these religious, paid him neither tithes, nor the fourth part of the fruits of the earth, he began by interdicting all their missionaries. So great and sudden a clap surprized every one; and it was the general opinion, that the bishop had not proceeded so far without a fixed design of going still farther.

THE governor, on his side, abated nothing of his menaces; and people waited with the greatest impatience the upshot of this affair, when father Romero arrived post haste at the Assumption, from the farther extremity of the province of Uruguay, where the noise of this sudden storm had reached him. The first thing he did was to wait on the governor, whom he beseeched to consider, that the kings of Spain had absolutely forbid their subjects to treat the Indians in a rough manner, those especially, who had been converted and formed into reductions by the Jesuits; or even impose any
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talks upon them; their majesties being desirous, that they should be prevailed upon by fair means, to do every thing, it might be thought proper to require of them; but his remonstrances had no effect. However, he again returned to the charge; and by his constancy, and his eloquence equally strong and insinuating, obtained, at last every thing he wanted. The governor ordered the prisoners to be set at liberty, and promised never more to molest the Neophytes.

BUT it proved much more difficult to move the bishop. It was to no purpose, father Romero, after striving in vain to reason him into better sentiments, produced the bulls of the sovereign Pontiffs, and the decrees of the royal council of the Indies, by which it plainly appeared, that his lordship had transgressed the bounds of his authority in interdicting the missionaries. He could get no other answer from him, than that he had a right to dispose of the parishes within his diocese. To this father Romero replied, that the reductions directed by the jesuits were not to be considered as parishes in the strict sense of that word. The bishop persisted in alledging, that those, who had charge of them, were parish priests subject to the ordinary, like all other parish priests. At length, the provincial, who was by this time arrived at the Assumption, caused to be notified to the bishop the letters patent of the king, by which his majesty forbade all persons of whatever rank and dignity, to deprive the fathers of the company of Jesus of the government of their Neophytes, or disturb them, under any pretext, in the exercise of their functions.

THE governor, who had already yielded to reason, seconded the provincial; and the bishop soon followed his example. He even did it with so good a grace, that, father Romero having set out to return to his church, he immediately followed him;

visited a second time the reductions within his diocese ; loaded the Neophytes with praises and caresses ; and, above all things, recommended to them, an entire confidence in those, who governed them with so much zeal and wisdom. This prelate was in the year 1635 translated to the bishoprick of Buenos Ayres, and ever after lived in the greatest harmony with the jesuits, which has not, however, hindered the authors of the *Morale pratique* from placing him, on the authority of Don Bernadin de Cardenas, among those prelates, whom the jesuits, according to him, had driven out of their dioceses. But these gentlemen, it seems, did not consider, that, if these fathers had credit enough for that purpose, they could not but have enough to prevent his translation to the bishoprick of Buenos Ayres, where it imported them much more to have a bishop in their interest, than at the Assumption.

BUT this storm had scarce blown over, when a report of the Mamelus having resolved to penetrate as far as the Parana, threw all the reductions established on that river, into the greatest consternation. Nor was it a vain alarm ; for the report was soon followed by certain advice, of their advancing by forced marches, after passing the great fall. As, therefore, it could not be doubted, that these banditti would first attack the reductions of the nativity and St. Mary Major, it was resolved to remove the inhabitants to Itapua. These precautions so disconcerted all the schemes of the enemy, that they thought it more prudent to march back, than venture further into a country, with which they were not sufficiently acquainted.

THIS year, the viceroy of Peru received positive orders from court, to suppress, absolutely and irrevocably, the practices of exacting personal service from the Indians, and substitute to it a tax payable

able to their encomenderoes, in money, vegetables, stuffs, honey, poultry, or fish, according to the nature of the countries they inhabited. It is very probable, that it was found improper to use violence in the execution of these orders; and that, therefore, gentle means were only employed. Be that as it will, certain it is, that things have remained ever since on much the same footing they were before; and that the most melancholy experience has not as yet been able to convince the Spaniards of Paraguay, that, independent of the dictates of religion and common honesty, their interest alone should engage them to comply with the will of their sovereign.

1635. It could scarce be expected, that the Mamelus and the Tupis, who did not think it too far to march to the reductions on the Parana, in order to make slaves of the new christians there, should not hanker after those of the Tapé, which lay so much nearer and more convenient to them; as, in their journeys along the eastern coasts of Brazil for the sake of selling their slaves, they generally stopt at the *Port de san Pedro*, formed by the mouth of the great river *Tebiquari*, which issues from the mountains of Tapé. Accordingly, the missionaries of this province had begun seriously to think on the properest measures for putting it in a good posture of defence against them. But such is the indolence of its natives, that these fathers might have laboured long enough to very little purpose, had not the misfortune, which some of their Neophytes had to fall into the hands of these banditti, made such an impression on the rest, that they immediately pursued them; and not only rescued their countrymen, but made several prisoners, who were distributed among the reductions.

ductions of the Parana, where, in time, they came to a due sense of their extreme folly and wickedness.

THE ardour inspired by this success was still alive, when the Neophytes had a new opportunity of exerting it. One of the missionaries, who had most contributed to civilize and convert them, having been treacherously killed by some of the neighbouring Indians, two bodies of them entered the enemy's country, in spite of all the endeavours of their pastors to restrain their fury, on two different sides; and, though both found armies prepared to receive them, they fought with such bravery, that, without losing a single man, they killed a great number of these savages, made a great many prisoners, and entirely dispersed the rest. They would even have carried their resentment still further, had not the missionaries found means to put a stop to it. But, as they neglected to take any security for the better behaviour of the enemy for the time to come, this mercy of theirs had like to have proved very fatal to them. The wild Indians, being left entirely to themselves, acquired, by degrees, more strength than they had lost; fell upon the reduction lately governed by the murdered missionary; butchered all the inhabitants that had not the good fortune of saving themselves by flight, and even three hundred children, whom they afterwards devoured. The other reductions of Tapé were on the point of sharing the same fate; so that it was at last found necessary, in order to support some, and repair the rest, to take up arms a second time, and make new efforts, the success of which was now become very uncertain. But the God of armies soon declared in favour of his worshippers, who had engaged in this war, merely to prevent the profanation of his sanctuary, and preserve his adorers. Besides, these new maccabees fought less to spill the blood of their enemies, than to impose

a yoke on them, which they took care to render very supportable, and eased them of the minute they found them sincerely disposed to bow their necks to that of the gospel.

1636. THE year following, Don Martin de Ledesma, who had succeeded Don Lewis de Cespedez in the government of Paraguay, having received orders from the royal audience of la Plata, to visit the reductions on the Parana, had no sooner finished his visit, than, at the instigation of the inhabitants of the Assumption, he formed the design of transferring, to the neighbourhood of that capital, two of them, that had been already removed into his province from that of Guayra, in order to give the Neophytes of them in command. His pretence for taking this step was, that these Indians had been reduced by arms, before the jesuits had undertaken to reunite them; and that, therefore, the Spaniards had a just title to their services; and he persisted so obstinately in this, his false notion, that nothing less than a positive order from the royal audience could hinder him from proceeding. Another pretension of the governor of Buenos Ayres, equally ill grounded, met with the same check. In consequence of some disagreement between him and the jesuits, he wrote to his majesty for leave to build a city on the Uruguay, on pretence of thereby keeping in awe the new christians of this province, every day, he said, growing more and more numerous. But this appeared a very odd motive to Philip IV. thoroughly convinced, as he was, that these Neophytes, far from deserving to be treated with so much diffidence, formed the best barrier he could have against all his enemies on that side of the country; his majesty, accordingly, sent orders to the governor to lay aside his design.

A THIRD storm, which arose at the same time, instead of only threatening from afar, was attended with very fatal consequences. The inhabitants of the Assumption affirmed, that, as the Itatine christians were not included in the privileges granted to the Neophytes of the jesuits, there could be no reason for not giving them in command. But they did not, or at least would not, consider, that, as they had not conquered these Indians, they could have no just pretence to deprive them of their liberty; but those, whose interest it was to maintain this vexatious pretension, had found means to bias so far both the civil and ecclesiastical courts, that they ordered the pastors stationed in these reductions, to give up their places to secular priests. In the mean time, fearing that the jesuits might complain of this violence to the royal audience of La Plata, some of the principal inhabitants signed a memorial addressed to that tribunal, in which they advanced several facts invented to render these fathers odious, and him in particular, who transacted their affairs at la Plata.

BUT this very contrivance ruined all their projects. One of those, who had signed the memorial, scrupled it to such a degree, that, to calm his conscience, he found himself under a necessity of sending a judicial retractation of his false allegations; and this retractation discovered the mystery of iniquity, which the conspirators had been endeavouring to cover with the specious veil of the public good. But, though the royal audience lost no time in issuing a decree, forbidding any innovations to be made in the Itatine reductions, it arrived too late. The new christians composing them, having already received some intimation of the design of the Spaniards, were so terrified at the thoughts of being reduced to the drudgery of personal service, that great numbers of them took refuge among the wild

wild Indians. To increase this misfortune, a plague followed ; and most of those who escaped it dispersed ; and of the three pastors, who governed this church, two fell into a consumption, and were obliged to quit the field ; so that the third not being able to attend to every thing, it cost more to reunite this scared and exasperated flock, than had been at first requisite to form it.

THE plague likewise, succeeded by a famine, had laid waste the reductions of Tapé, when the surviving Neophytes received intelligence, that the Mamelus were making a powerful armament to pay them a second visit. As the reduction of Jesus Maria lay the most exposed to their fury, father Romero applied to the governor of Rio de la Plata for leave to throw up some retrenchments about it ; and, having obtained his consent, immediately repaired there to hasten the works. But the Mamelus appeared before they could be completed, followed by fifteen hundred Tupis and several other Indians. Such of the Neophytes as were not actually employed in the military works, were abroad hunting, or cultivating their lands, all to four hundred, who remained in the town ; and several of these were not in a condition to make any great resistance.

WHAT resistance they made, however, was much more vigorous than could be well expected. But no one behaved better on the occasion, than a woman who had put on man's clothes for the purpose. Having snied a Mamelus, who alone made a greater slaughter than all the rest put together, she immediately made up to him, and laid him dead at her feet. Two lay brother jesuits signalized themselves on this occasion, and were dangerously wounded ; as was father Mola, in performing the perilous functions of his ministry. At length, the Mamelus having set fire to the church, where all those who could not fight

fight had shut themselves up, there was a necessity for capitulating. The conditions were pretty favourable, but they were soon broke. Part of those who had fought, were butchered in cold blood; and the rest thrown into chains. These banditti afterwards set fire to the houses; and, carrying off even several of those whom their pastors had ransomed, spread themselves over the country and made a great many prisoners there; so that scarce one fourth of the inhabitants escaped their fury. We are told, that most of the captives, even the children, did great honour to the christian faith during their captivity, though some apostasied; and became, in process of time, as it usually happens, the most dangerous enemies to the religion they had forsaken:

UPON this, the reduction of St. Christopher; but two leagues from that of Jesus-Maria, was immediately evacuated; and the inhabitants conducted to St. Anne, where the remains of Jesus Maria had been already transferred. But though the pastor of Jesus-Maria had by this assembled a body of sixteen hundred men, it was judged proper to remove still further, to the Nativity, at the other side of the Iguai, not only those, who had taken shelter at St. Anne, but likewise the inhabitants themselves. This transmigration, however, was performed with great order. Detachments were posted at all the fords of the river, except one, which was left naked in order to draw the Mamelus into an ambuscade in the woods; with which its banks are covered. The necessity of these precautions soon became evident. It was not long before a large body of Mamelus crossed the river by the ford which had been left uncovered. But they soon fell into the ambuscade which had been laid for them, and were all cut to pieces.

BUT

BUT these prudent measures did not hinder the alarm from encreasing. It was even strongly reported, that the enemy were marching towards the Uruguay; and that some of their detachments had already murdered several jesuits. Upon this, therefore, orders were given to set fire to the reductions of that province, and they had already begun to be executed, when the provincial of the jesuits, having fortunately heard of them, gave directions to proceed no further, till he could examine matters on the spot; and he immediately set out for that purpose. He met, in his way, the inhabitants of the reductions, that had been already evacuated, and, having distributed them among the nearest towns, posted to the Assumption to require assistance of the governor of Paraguay.

He represented to the governor, that, if he once suffered all the christian colonies to be destroyed, it would no longer be possible to secure a great number of Spanish settlements from the Mamelus. To this Don Martin de Ledesma made no other answer, than that he would have done much better to strengthen the old reductions than form new ones. Father Boroa replied, that, by abandoning the province of Tapé, and all the course of the Uruguay, the province of Parana, and even that of Paraguay, would have been laid open to the enemy, who could then with impunity ravage all the country to the very gates of the Assumption, like the Chiriguanes, the Calchaquis, and several other barbarous nations of Tucuman. As Don Martin had formerly been governor of Tucuman, he must have seen the force of this argument much better than any one else; notwithstanding which, he thought proper not to yield to it.

THE son of the governor of Rio de la Plata, who had the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres, and even of the capital itself, should have taken
more

more interest in the preservation of the churches on the Uruguay; and yet he proved equally deaf to the provincial's entreaties. This father then addressed himself to the inhabitants of Corrientes; but all to no purpose. However, he still resolved not to abandon the reductions that were most exposed to danger; and, therefore, assembled all the Neophytes that had not as yet any fixed habitations; sent to the nearest reductions for good escorts; crossed the Iguaí, where he still encreased his numbers; and, having thus formed a pretty numerous army, advanced to the demolished reductions, thinking he might still find the enemy there, and rescue those they had made prisoners. But the Mamelus, having received early notice of his design, had taken care to defeat it by a timely retreat.

THE provincial, therefore, could now do no more than bury the dead bodies, which still lay exposed to the beasts and birds of prey, in every place where any resistance had been made. Afterwards, finding that nothing was to be expected from the Spaniards, unless the royal council of the Indies interposed, he wrote to that tribunal to inform it of every thing that had happened, and of the melancholy situation of the new christians of Paraguay. He sent his letters by a ship bound to Portugal; and he thought he had given them into very sure hands; but they were thrown into the sea, two hundred leagues from Lisbon. Those, however, who had given orders for so doing, reaped no benefit by it; for the packet was found, some time after, in that port, and carried to his catholic majesty.

1737. THE year following, the jesuits of Paraguay deputed father Diaz Tano to Rome, and father de Montayo to Madrid. Their business was to solicit the royal council of the Indies for powerful assistance against the Mamelus; and acquaint it with the obstacles that hin-

hindered the progress of the gospel in Paraguay ; that of the former was to give the general of the company an account of their affairs in that province, and obtain of him a reinforcement of missionaries. The bishop of Tucuman made use of the same opportunity to write to his catholic majesty the following letter.

S I R E,

“ YOUR majesty has often given orders to my predecessors to let you know how far the diocese of Tucuman may stand in need of religious to preach the gospel to the natives, that the royal council of the Indies may be the better able to supply its wants. As, therefore, within these three years that I have had the spiritual government of it, I have carefully visited almost every part of it, I shall lay before your majesty an account of its present state.

THIS province, Sire, is more than four hundred leagues in extent ; contains eight Spanish, and a great number of Indian towns, of which the most inconsiderable contains from twelve to fourteen thousand souls. All the inhabitants have been baptized, but most of them have renounced or forgot the faith, through natural levity or want of instruction. Of these the jesuits had converted upwards of fifty thousand, but were obliged to abandon them on account of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, who in a hostile manner entered the province of Chaco, whose inhabitants are, in general, very docile, live together in towns, and do not go naked like other Indians. There are eight of these towns, whose inhabitants are christians ; but they have no pastor ; and it is not in my power to give them any, since, even in the spanish towns, there is scarce a priest capable of performing the parochial functions. When I can, I send some ecclesiasticks there twice a year

to visit them ; for it is not always I can do that. Thus have I the mortification of seeing perish, for want of assistance, a great many souls, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, committed to my care, and under the protection of your majesty.

IN the Indian towns governed by secular priests, there are many things that want to be reformed. These priests know nothing ; and are neither capable of fulfilling their own obligations, nor of instructing in theirs those committed to their care. The regulars are very few ; and the religious of St. Francis, in particular, are scarce sufficient to serve their churches. There are, therefore, none but the fathers of the company that can exonerate your majesty's conscience. In all their houses, there are labourers ready, both night and day, to do every thing required of them. They instruct the children, visit the sick, assist the dying, and are particularly careful of the Indians and Negroes. For this reason I have entreated their provincial, lately arrived with some other jesuits, to hold an assembly of his order, in the city of Corduba, where I am now on a visitation, to send some evangelical labourers to Chaco, that the inhabitants, who have already some pretty good notions of the christian religion, may by gentle means be reduced to the obedience of Jesus Christ. I have, at the same time, conjured him to spare some preachers to the most unprovided quarters of my diocese, in order to endeavour the reformation of the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the Metis, whose dissolute lives greatly scandalize the Indians ; and to administer the sacraments, which are now scarce known among them.

To this he answered, that his religious could not comply with my request, without exposing themselves to the same persecution, they have suffered for some years past, in the province of Paraguay,

guay, from the Spaniards, the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratingue, and the Tupis. In fact, the Spaniards are greatly prejudiced against them, because, as far as lies in their power, they maintain the Indians in the possession of that liberty which your majesty has been pleased to grant them. However, as soon as he saw I spoke to him in your majesty's name, and that what I required so nearly regarded God's service, he sent orders, in conformity, to all the fathers of his province; and I am satisfied they will leave all their houses empty, rather than not comply with them. But, unhappily, their numbers are very small.

I, THEREFORE, conjure your majesty by the bowels of Jesus Christ, and by the inestimable value of so many souls, whose salvation this divine Saviour has charged me to procure, and for whom he died on the cross, to send me forty fathers of the company, with strict orders not to stop to exercise their zeal any where but in the diocese of Tucuman; for, I do not believe there is, in all the world, one more destitute of spiritual assistance. I may even safely assure your majesty, that, if my whole revenue, which does not exceed four thousand crowns, was not already irrevocably appropriated, I would send for these religious at my own expence. But I flatter myself I have discharged my duty by laying before your majesty, the sovereign of these provinces, and the patron of their churches, the melancholy situation of mine in particular, and the remedies that may be applied to it. God keep and preserve your royal person for the defence of religion. At Corduba of Tucuman, the eighteenth day of October, 1637."

THE letter of Don Pedro Estevan d'Avila, which he gave with his own hands to the deputies, when going to embark at Buenos Ayres, contains the following particulars, "I had been in-

formed of the disorders committed by the inhabitants of St. Paul of Brazil, in the reductions or missions, which the fathers of the company of Jesus have established, within this jurisdiction, on the Uruguay, and in Tapè; and, at my arrival at Rio Janeiro, I found that I had heard nothing but what was exactly true; for I saw exposed to sale, in that port, some Indians, whom the inhabitants of St. Paul brought there as publickly as if they had been made slaves with your majesty's consent. I afterwards received the most convincing proofs, that, from the year 1628 to 1630, the same inhabitants of St. Paul had carried off sixty thousand souls from the reductions of this province and those of Paraguay, where they exercised the greatest cruelties, behaving in a manner that one would scarce think possible for men, who called themselves christians and catholicks.

BEING desirous of putting a stop to these enormities, I wrote to Don Martin de Sa, at that time governor of this province, to induce him to do, what I now beseech your majesty to direct. I likewise send your majesty his answer to my letter. I hope from your majesty's piety and justice, that you will put a stop to this scandal, by giving the most express orders to hinder the inhabitants of St. Paul from entering these provinces, through which they would soon find out a passage to Peru, as father Anthony Ruiz, of the company of Jesus, now on his departure for Spain on affairs of the last importance to church and state, can more amply inform your majesty."

End of the Sixth Book.

B O O K

B O O K VII.

The new christians of the reductions in the neighbourhood of the Uruguay, after making head, with various success, against the Mamelus, are removed by their pastors to the neighbourhood of the Parana; are allowed the use of fire arms; entirely defeat, under the command of the governor of Paraguay, a large body of the Mamelus. Lake with floating Islands. Renegadoes and outlaws, who had taken shelter in them, defeated by the new christians. The Pope excommunicates the Mamelus and their abettors. Ferment occasioned thereby in Brazil. Duke of Braganca ascends the throne of Portugal. New regulations of the court of Madrid in favour of the Indians of Paraguay, particularly the christian Indians carried off by the Mamelus. Attempt to civilize and convert two Indian nations called Mataranes and Abipones. Their manners and customs. Progress of the gospel in Paraguay checked by an edict of the court of Madrid, forbidding any but the natural born subjects of Spain to pass over as missionaries into Paraguay. Engagements by water and land between the Mamelus and the new christians, in which the former are entirely defeated. Don Bernardin de Cardenas named bishop of the Assumption; abuses his spiritual power, and encroaches on the civil, to the subversion of all order in church and state; begins to inveigh against the jesuits. Leaves the Assumption, but returns again, in order to drive

the jesuits out of it ; being disappointed in the attempt entrenches himself in the franciscan convent ; is declared by his clergy an intruder into the diocese ; and leaves the capital ; adjudged, on his own confession, an intruder by the see of Rome.

THE evil complained of in the letter from the bishop of Tucuman, with which we have finished our last book, was still more pressing than his lordship imagined it. But, however impatient the two deputies were to get to Europe, they were delayed more than six months at Rio Janeiro, probably for want of a ship to pursue their voyage. They exerted themselves, in the mean time, to convince the Portugueze, how unworthy of men of honour the slave trade was, which they carried on with the Mamelus ; and conjured them to reflect seriously on the rigorous account, to which they must sooner or later be called for it by God, and his catholic majesty their sovereign. Father de Montoya even spoke more than once from the pulpit to the same purpose, and his remonstrances were not altogether fruitless. Several persons set at liberty the reduction Indians they had bought from the Mamelus ; and the magistrates strictly forbid them to buy any for the future.

WE shall now leave the two deputies for a time to continue their voyage ; and return to the reductions, which were likely to be no small losers by the absence of Father de Montoya, who had governed them for some time past ; it being no easy matter to find a person equally qualified for so arduous a task, especially in the present perilous circumstances. However, the choice, which the provincial made of father Diego Alfero to succeed him met with universal ap-

applause. This missionary was equally conspicuous for his resolution and good sense; and still of an age equal to the greatest fatigues. Nor was it long before he had opportunities of justifying the favourable opinion the world entertained of him; the Mamelus being by this more enraged than ever against the new christians of Tapé, where there now remained but the reductions of St. Joachim, St. Theresa, and St. Anne. For, there appearing no probability of being able to support the first of these reductions against an enemy, whose fury only encreased in proportion to the resistance and even the successes of the new christians against them, it was resolved to remove it nearer to the Uruguay.

BUT the missionaries found it a much harder matter, than they at first thought it would be, to make the Neophytes consent to this transmigration. They represented, that the country, to which these fathers proposed to conduct them, was little less exposed to the insults of the enemy than their own; and no arguments were found sufficient to convince them of their mistake. They even carried their discontent to some disagreeable lengths. Several fled; and some forgot themselves so far as to conspire against the lives of their pastors. The greatest number so obstinately persisted in their unwillingness to remove, that, to oblige them to it, it was at last found absolutely necessary to set fire to the town. But, even then, numbers of them dispersed several ways. One of the missionaries was obliged to follow a great number towards the *Caapis* or *Caapaguas*, whilst two others conducted the rest to St. Theresa.

THE missionaries did not intend to leave their Neophytes at St. Theresa; they had even traced out, pretty near that reduction, the plan of another for these poor fugitives, of whom they had, by this,

collected six hundred families. But a new alarm made it prudent to conduct them still further. Some time after, St. Theresa was surprized, and all its inhabitants carried off. Their pastors offered to ransom them, but the Mamelus asked a great deal more, than it was in their power to give. This happened a few days before Christmas ; yet, on Christmas day, these banditti came to the church, every man with a taper in his hand, in order to hear the three masses of one of the fathers, who, the minute he had finished them, got into the pulpit, and reproached them, in the bitterest terms, with their injustice and cruelty. But they could not have listened to him with more calmness, if what he said did not any way concern them. When he had done, however, they granted him the liberty of two children, who served at the altar. At length, the two fathers, finding it impossible to obtain any more prisoners from them, buried all the sacred vessels and altar ornaments they could not take away with them, and set out for the Uruguay.

ON their way, they met with several Neophytes wandering in the forests ; and one of them conducted these poor scattered remains to the reductions on the Parana, where they were received with open arms. Some time after, the inhabitants of St. Anne, having received timely notice of the approach of the Mamelus, dispersed to avoid falling into their hands ; and most of them being but profelyes, they soon took a new liking to the vagabond way of life, in which they had been brought up. Several even suffered themselves to be persuaded, that the missionaries had assembled them merely to deliver them up to the Mamelus, who, themselves, every where propagated this calumny ; and, in a short time, all the new christians gave such credit to it, that the pastors were in constant

stant danger of being murdered by them. They insulted father Alfero several times ; and one day carried off his chapel, and profaned the sacred vessels in his presence. In short, they suddenly deserted so many reductions, that it was thought requisite to remove the inhabitants of the rest towards the Parana, where the storm, however, soon followed them. The alarm even gained the Itatines, now united into reductions, though in a place where there was no probability that the Mamelus would ever come to attack them.

⁶1638-39. THE Mamelus soon after fell upon the province of Uruguay ; and, so early as the month of January 1638, the reductions of St. Charles and the Apostles had been abandoned by their inhabitants, though well able to defend themselves, as were, likewise, those of some other reductions in the neighbourhood, had they but joined for that purpose. But such a consternation had seized them, that they no longer listened to the voice of their pastors. There happened, however, one pretty smart skirmish, in which thirteen hundred christians, who ventured to make head against the Mamelus, had at first some advantage ; but, a sudden panick having seized them, they retreated to their reduction and set fire to it, though the enemy had not pursued them. Some days after, however, on receiving a reinforcement, they marched back to the place where they had left the Mamelus, who, after retreating at the same time that the Indians had fled, were likewise returned to it. Upon this, a new battle ensued, and the christians obtained a compleat victory ; but, unhappily, they knew not how to improve it. They even permitted themselves to be so far thrown off their guard by this little success, that they fell into an ambuscade, where, however very few of them perished. They might have easily cut to pieces those who had drawn

drawn them into it, had it been in the power of their leaders to bring them back to the charge. But, so far from being even able to rally them, they could not stop them till they had reached the banks of the Piratiny.

SOME time after this, on a report that the Mamelus were marching back to Brazil, several Neophytes returned to their reductions; but the Mamelus appeared again, before they were well settled in them. However, they waited for these banditti with great bravery; and, after a pretty smart skirmish, both parties separated without any loss on either side. The Mamelus now finding, that open force was no longer likely to succeed with them, had recourse to stratagem; but they got nothing by it. Soon after, both parties came to blows again; but the Neophytes, betrayed by one of their leaders, were obliged to take to their heels; and never looked behind them, till they got to the other side of the Uruguay. This defeat was followed by the ruin of the reduction of St. Nicholas, and the evacuation of all the country between the Uruguay and the Piratiny.

THE missionaries made such good use of this event, to convince all the new christians that still remained in that province, and those in the neighbourhood of the Parana, how necessary it was to exert themselves to prevent their total ruin, that they found it no difficult matter to raise an army, which, from the banks of the Uruguay, where it had been formed, advanced to the Piratiny. Father Alfaro, who accompanied it, having here received advice, that the Mamelus were in full march towards Brazil, the Indian army immediately set out again in pursuit of them; and, having at last overtaken them, skirmished with them several days together, before either side could boast of any decisive advantage over the other. At last, fifteen hun-

dred men, with which one of the missionaries had reinforced the christians, gave them such a superiority, that the Mamelus were obliged to intrench themselves, to avoid being all cut to pieces. The Neophytes, upon this, unable to force the intrenchment, blocked them up, and by that means reduced the enemy to such extremities, that they had no other choice left but to surrender at discretion, or make a desperate push to open themselves a way through the besiegers.

THE new christians, perhaps, would have yielded to so sudden and unexpected an attack, were it not for the timely arrival of another reinforcement, though it consisted of no more than eleven Spaniards, whom the governor of Rio de la Plata had sent to examine into the state of affairs in this province, and who, after a march of two hundred leagues, found themselves, as it were, by mere accident, within sight of the intrenchment, just as the Neophytes began to lose ground and disperse. But, as soon as they spied the Spaniards, they took heart again; and suffered themselves to be rallied by their commander, and led back to the charge. The Mamelus, upon this, imagining the reinforcement stronger than it really was, called out for quarters, and accepted it on whatever terms the christians were pleased to require. Father Alfaro advanced to speak to them; and began by declaring them excommunicated, according to the orders he had received for that purpose from the bishop of Buenos Ayres. He then required of them an oath, that for the future they would never commit any hostility against the christian reductions; and they immediately complied. The missionary, however, fully convinced, that the anathemas of the church and their own imprecations were too weak a restraint upon such abandoned wretches, was for taking more effectual precautions against them; and

and did all that lay in his power to make the officers, who commanded the Spaniards, sensible of the necessity there was for doing so; but it was to no purpose; he was not to be persuaded; so that the Mamelus were permitted to escape, without giving any further security for their good behaviour.

THE consequences of this imprudent step were much worse, perhaps, than the superior of the mission imagined. New gangs of the Mamelus crossed the Igai; and the christians were on the point of seeing themselves again exposed to all the horrors, with which they had already been surrounded, if father de Boroa had not had influence enough over them, to prevail on them to form a new army, which soon made all the parties of the enemy disappear. But this disgrace could neither cure them of their intention to return with fresh forces, nor of the hopes of being more successful another time; and, at last, the missionaries perceived, that it would be the height of imprudence to leave the Neophytes any longer in a country, every minute liable to become the theatre of a war, by which, however successful, they could be no gainers; and which, considering the disparity of their arms, could not be expected to terminate, otherwise than in the utter ruin of a church, which it had cost them so much to form. The provincial, therefore, concluded, that no time should be lost in conducting all the Neophytes, that could be gathered together, to places, where they might have nothing to fear from such implacable enemies.

THE chief difficulty, that attended this transmigration, was that of making the Neophytes consent to it; most of them having declared, that they would rather run all the risks, to which their continuing where they were might expose them, than roam into a distant country, in quest of what others might call an asylum, but which they should always con-

consider as a place of banishment. It, therefore, cost no small time resolution and address to bring them to do that, on which, in the main, they could not but be convinced their safety depended. This done, it was resolved to fix them between the Uruguay and the Parana, near the place where these two great rivers approach within about fifteen leagues of each other, in order to give them two barriers easy to defend, and an opportunity of being more readily succoured. This project, however, met with many obstacles; but, means being found to surmount them, it was at last executed in the following manner.

THIS great multitude of men women and children were formed into three divisions. Father Christopher de Arenas was charged with the first; and it was as much as he could do, with all his courage and industry, to conduct them to the spot assigned him. Part of them disbanded on the road, and he had much ado to make them return. Several wanted to stop in places, that were accessible only to savages, and where, of course, they must soon have relapsed into their old way of living; but he followed them every where, and often exposed his life to bring them back. Some of them revolted openly, and even employed such threats, as might have disconcerted a man of less zeal and resolution. At length, he had the good fortune to make them cross the Parana, where he had orders to distribute them among the reductions of that province, till they could build towns for themselves. It was at the passage of this river that the spirit of mutiny chiefly manifested itself, as they all took it into their heads, that the father was going to deliver them up into the hands of the Spaniards.

THE leaders of the second division had still more to suffer, though a great deal less than those of the third, not to lose more of their flock, than even the

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Mamelus had carried off from them, The person, who spared himself least upon this occasion, was the provincial; and the success of this important enterprize was due chiefly to his courage, his prudence, and his unalterable meekness. Twelve thousand Indians, exclusive of women and children, were thus happily collected together, in places where it was not possible to surprize them; and from which they could easily return to their ancient habitations, as soon as they should find themselves in a condition to maintain their ground there, which soon after happened to be the case. Some missionaries were then detached in quest of those who had separated from the main body, in order to bring them back to the fold; and they not only succeeded in their errand, but had the consolation of gaining over to Jesus Christ several infidels, who could not help being charmed with their charity and pastoral solicitude. No time was lost in building huts to lodge this great multitude; and in putting them in a condition to provide by labour for all their other wants.

BUT it was not enough to secure these new christians against a surprize. Their chiefs represented to the provincial, that, as long as they could not engage the Mamelus with equal arms, it was impossible they should not become a prey to them in the end, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken to prevent it. Of this father Boroa and all the missionaries were equally convinced. But it was considered, in Spain, as a maxim of state, not to introduce the use of fire arms among the Indians; and no precaution, it must be allowed, could be wiser in regard to the Indians given in command, and who lived intermixed with the Spaniards. These it imported greatly to keep under subjection. But this was not the case with
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the Indians we are now speaking of. The fidelity of the first, whose submission was involuntary, could only be depended upon, in proportion to their inability to shake off the yoke ; whereas, that of the second being voluntary, and the advantages of it to them very conspicuous, they could have no motive to revolt, as long as no attempts were made upon their liberty, in the possession of which the sovereign had promised to maintain them.

BESIDES, they were the only Spanish Indians, on whom the provinces of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata could depend for a barrier against the enterprizes of the Portuguese and the Indians of the frontiers of Brazil, who did not destroy the towns of Xerez Villalica and Ciudad Real ; open themselves a passage to Peru, through the North of Paraguay ; and take possession of the rich gold mines of *Cuyaba* and of *Monte grosso*, of which I shall speak hereafter ; till they had first ruined the reductions of the province of Guayra. It is, no doubt, very surprizing, that the Spanish governors, to whom the missionaries made reiterated representations on that head, should have paid so little regard to them. But they suffered themselves to be prejudiced against these missionaries by persons, who had nothing in view but their own private interest, which they, besides, very ill understood, and to which they sacrificed that of both church and state, from an unwillingness to see any of the natives become christians, but such as they could make slaves of.

ON the present occasion, however, the governors, even those who had the welfare of the new christians most at heart, were of opinion, they ought not to take upon themselves to meddle in so delicate an affair, as that of granting the use of fire arms to the new christians. And father de Borroa, perhaps, thought it dangerous to mention it to them, lest, his project coming to transpire, some oppositions

some oppositions might be made to it, which it would be a difficult matter to remove. But in the instructions, which he gave father de Montoya, on that missionary's setting out for Madrid, he had expressly recommended that article to him. Accordingly, father de Montoya proposed it to the royal council of the Indies; and represented to that tribunal the absolute impossibility of preserving the reductions, exposed as they were to the incursions of the Portuguese and Indians of Brazil, if the Neophytes were any longer refused the use of fire arms.

He knew very well, that it would be objected, that, if these Indians, on seeing themselves as well armed as the Spaniards, should take it into their heads to revolt, it would be impossible to reduce them; seeing it was impossible to conquer them, when they had no other arms but their arrows and their mancanas. But he obviated this objection, by saying, that the missionaries did not intend to leave these arms at the discretion of the Neophytes; that they were resolved to keep them themselves, with all their ammunition, and never put them into their hands, but when they had good grounds to fear some irruption; nor even keep more in the reductions, than what were necessary to avoid being surprized, but deposit all the rest at the Assumption. He added, that, with his majesty's leave, both arms and ammunition should be purchased with the alms they might receive, so that their lordships need not fear their costing the royal treasury a single farthing; and that, to instruct the Indians in the use of these arms, some lay brother jesuits, who had served in the army, should be sent for to the kingdom of Chili.

THE king approved father de Montoya's reasons, and judged the precautions, with which he
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supported them, sufficient to answer the purpose. His majesty, therefore, granted every thing the missionaries asked; and ordered his ministers to give suitable directions to the viceroy and the governors of the province of Paraguay. Several persons have since laboured very hard to obtain a revocation of this indulgence; but the catholick king, who soon saw it was the best step they could take, would never listen to any proposals for altering the regulations made on that head; and never have had occasion to repent their steadiness. In fact, not only neither the Mamelus nor their allies have dared to shew their faces in the christian reductions, or have been able to penetrate with impunity into the provinces where they are situated; but there has arisen among these Neophytes a militia, which, for more than an age past, has been the greatest resource of their sovereign in this part of South America, against both foreign and domestic enemies; and which, notwithstanding, it does not cost him a single farthing to pay or to maintain, as we shall soon have an opportunity to demonstrate. But what is still most surprising in these Indian troops, the glory they have acquired by their victories, so far from puffing up their hearts, and giving them an air of liberty and independence, as might be naturally apprehended, has put a stop to those mutinies, which their reiterated misfortunes had used before to occasion; so that their pastors have never found them more submissive and docile, than since they procured them the means of living free from the apprehensions of seeing their peace disturbed. Those, in a word, whose valour is the surest palladium of the publick security, are the first to give, on every occasion, proofs of the most inviolable loyalty, and the most exemplary devotion.

THE missionaries could easily foresee this happy alteration, from the minute the Indians discovered

the measures these fathers had taken, to put them in a condition of no longer fearing any thing from their enemies. All murmuring immediately ceased ; and some jesuits took advantage of this calm to take the field, and run over the province of Tapé, and the neighbouring districts, in quest of those, who, at the approach of the Mamelus, had taken shelter there in the woods and mountains ; and they had the good fortune to pick up a great number of them, whom they conducted to Itapita. They, next, turned their thoughts to the replacing of those, who had been carried off into Brazil, or whom they had lost by death or desertion ; and father Antonio Palermo, followed by a company of the most fervent christians, coasted the Parana, by land, from its discharge into the Paraguay to the place where it receives the Monday ; baptized several dying infants in this long and painful course ; and returned to his church with one hundred and fifty proselytes.

HOWEVER, the indulgence, with which the Mamelus had been treated the preceding year, and which had prevented their entire defeat, proved a great obstacle to the entire reunion of the Neophytes, who had dispersed through fear of seeing the war break out again ; and this fear was so much the more reasonable, as some parties of the enemy frequently made their appearance in the neighbourhood of those places, where reductions had formerly stood. One of these parties surprized two young Indians, that attended two missionaries then employed in scouring the same country in quest of the dispersed christians ; and thought they had sufficiently secured them by tying their hands. But, one night that these children lay stretched in the midst of the gang, finding them all fast asleep, they crept to the fire ; put their hands into it ; and had courage enough to hold them there long

long enough to burn the strings with which they were bound. They, then, withdrew without being perceived ; and by by-roads, with which they happened to be acquainted, rejoined their pastors after walking fourteen leagues without stopping to rest themselves.

On the advice they gave, that the Mamelus seemed to have some notion of approaching the Parana, Don Pedro de Lugo, governor of Paraguay, who had lately received very precise orders from his catholic majesty to omit nothing, that might contribute to the safety of the reductions within his province, and who was actually visiting them with a strong escort, assembled four thousand Indians, and led them towards the canton of *Caarupa Guayzu*, where the young Indians had left the enemy. Father Alfaro waited upon him with some other Indians ; but, having one day taken the lead of the rest, a Mamelus whom he did not perceive, but by whom he happened to be known, discharged a blunderbuss at him, and tumbled him dead from off his horse.

As soon as the governor heard of this accident, he formed his troops, and fell so suddenly upon the enemy, who little expected to be so soon attacked, that, after cutting to pieces all those who made any resistance, he made almost all the rest prisoners. He committed them to the care of the Neophytes, entirely abandoning to their discretion all the Tupis who happened to be among them. The Neophytes treated the Tupis so well, that they prevailed on them to be instructed in our divine mysteries ; and, soon after baptism, put an end to their captivity. As to the Mamelus, they were conducted to the Assumption, within eighty leagues of which the battle had been fought ; and every one expected they would be punished like banditti taken in arms against their sovereign. But

the governor contented himself with reproaching them with their cruelties, and threatening them with the anger of heaven, if they continued their hostilities. He, then, sent them to Buenos Ayres, whose governor, at the solicitation of some of the inhabitants, set them at liberty, with leave to return to their own country.

THE body of father Alfaro was carried to the reduction of the Conception situated on the Uruguay, where it was interred with all the honours the poverty of the Neophytes would admit of ; and father Claudius Ruier was appointed superior of the missions in his room. He had scarce taken possession of this employment, when Don Pedro Estevan d'Avila, governor of Rio de la Plata, applied to him for eighty Neophytes to be employed in an expedition, the success of which, he said might greatly contribute to the security of the reductions situated in this province. The nature of the affair was as follows.

To the east of Rio de la Plata, and about the twenty eighth or twenty ninth degree of South latitude, there is a lake of a very irregular figure, eighty leagues in length, and very narrow in proportion to its length. This lake, in the ancient maps, is called the lake of *Caracaras* ; and, in the more modern, that of *Ybera*. From the eastern extremity of this lake there issue two little rivers, one of which falls into the Rio de la Plata, and the other into the Uruguay ; the first, under the name of *Rio Mirinay* ; and the second, under that of *Rio Corrientes*. Father del Techo contents himself with saying, that the lake, or as he calls it, the marsh of Caracaras, communicates with the Parana. I have elsewhere observed, that the name of Parana is often given to that part of the Rio de la Plata, which lies between its junction with the Paraguay and the mouth of the Uruguay.

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THE same historian adds, that this lake is covered with floating islands, like those in a little lake near St. Omers; and that they afforded a retreat to Indians of different nations, especially the Caracaras, who having inveigled some Spaniards among them, in 1553, by applying to them for assistance against their enemies, perfidiously massacred them; and actually harboured some renegadoes of the reduction of St. Anne, and the murderers of father Espinosa. The impunity they enjoyed, in consequence of the difficulty of attacking them, had rendered them very insolent. They frequently committed great disorders in the countries about the lake, and had lately burnt to the ground the church belonging to the reduction of St. Anne.

DON PEDRO having, at length, resolved to purge his province of such troublesome inmates, father Romero immediately conducted to Buenos Ayres the number of Neophytes, he had required for that purpose. Don Pedro appointed to command them the brave Don Juan de Garay, who, after a hundred leagues march, arrived within sight of the lake, where he found the inhabitants disposed to dispute his entrance. But he found means to embark with all his men; and, though the enemy made pretty good use of all their advantages, he pushed them with so much valour and conduct, that, after driving them from island to island, he killed or took prisoner every man of them. It was on this occasion, that the militia of the reductions first shewed what might be expected from them, when well armed and officered; for it appears that they had by this time got fire arms.

1640. THIS expedition was followed by another, which had not so happy an issue. I said that there were some Calchaquis in the province of Rio de la Plata, near Buenos Ayres. These Indians were no less enemies to the Spaniards, than

those of the same name, who frequently gave such uneasiness to the province of Tucuman; and they had lately advanced towards Santafé, and ravaged the country about it, from which the governor resolved to drive them. For this purpose he raised some troops, and sent to the reductions of his province for six hundred Indians, whom father Romero, and father Arias, immediately led to his assistance. He, then, put himself at the head of this little army; and marched in good order against the Calchaquis, but without sending, as he ought to have done, to reconnoitre them. He had commanded in Flanders, and obstinately refused to act against these barbarians in any other manner, than he would have done against regular troops; but he paid dear for his imprudence. The Calchaquis remained so well posted in their marshes, that he had consumed all his provisions, before he could join them; so that he found himself obliged to retreat, without reaping any other benefit by an expedition, for which he had made vast preparations, than that of carrying home three hundred prisoners taken by the Neophytes.

FATHER DIAZ TANO was, by this, returned to Buenos Ayres, with a numerous reinforcement of missionaries. He had accompanied father de Montoya as far as Madrid, and from thence pursued his journey to Rome. Father Vitelleschi, his general, was overwhelmed with grief on the report he made of the condition, in which he had left the Indian churches of Paraguay; and, unable to give him any other comfort but that of mixing tears with him, he conducted him to the audience of Urban VIII, who then governed the church. This pontiff, equally touched with the general of the company, at the account the missionary gave him of enormities committed by the Mamelus and the Indians of Brazil, immediately gave orders
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for making out a brief, in which he threatened with the anathemas of the church, both the authors and abettors of such scandalous disorders, if they did not immediately put a stop to them.

THE Pope, then, desired a minute account of the proceedings of the Jesuits in Paraguay; and he could not apply to a person better qualified to satisfy him than father Tano, who forgot nothing to give his holiness a thorough insight into the affairs of these missions; and was, in return, loaded with presents and other marks of the most affectionate tenderness for himself and his fellow labourers; particularly father Orighi, whose brother was actually cardinal, and one of whose grand-nephews died lately, invested with the same dignity. The pope honoured himself with the title of his old friend. In short, the pope granted him every thing he could wish for, in order to secure the tranquility of the new christians. He was even beforehand with father Tano, and would have made him completely happy, could that missionary answer for the thunder of the Vatican, being sufficient to put an end to all the evils, of which he had given his holiness an account.

FINDING, on his return to Madrid, that father de Montoya had formed a company of missionaries for him, he made what haste he could to Lisbon, to freight a ship for their passage. The missionaries were on the point of going aboard, the ship only waiting for them to put to sea, when father Tano received notice, that the secretary of state, Don Miguel de Vasconcellos, (the same who, soon after, stained with his blood the scene of the revolution of Portugal) had forbid the commandant of the fort of Belem to let their vessel pass the bar. Upon this, he had recourse to the Vicereine, the duchess dowager of Mantua; and having immediately obtained from this princess a revocation

of the secretary's order, he lost no time in taking the benefit of it,

THE navigation proved pretty favourable, all to the death of two of the missionaries by a disorder which broke out amongst the ship's company, till they arrived in the thirty fifth degree of south latitude, when a violent north wind drove them to the mouth of the streights of Magellan, from whence they found it impossible to make cape St. Mary, in order to enter into the bay of Rio de la Plata; or even withstand the violence of the storm; so that the pilot was obliged to steer for Rio de Janeyro, where the missionaries were received by the governor, Don Emanuel Sa, with great honours.

SOME days after their arrival, father Tano, with the advice of the ecclesiastical superiors, published the papal briefs we just now mentioned, and thereby brought upon his back most of the inhabitants. The gates of the Jesuits college and of their church were forced open; and those religious had every thing to fear from the first transports of the furious multitude, if the governor and magistrates had not run with an armed force to their assistance. Don Emanuel, upon this, assembled the principal inhabitants, and father Tano, who was requested to assist at this meeting, after the briefs had been read, gave an account of every step he had taken on this occasion. But though his conduct was generally approved by the assembly, the populace grew more and more outrageous; so that, in order to appease them, it was found necessary to interpose a pretended appeal to the Pope better instructed. Some have said, that it was the missionary himself, who first gave this advice. Be that as it will, the publication of this appeal put a stop to the sedition. Indeed it was high time to think of some remedy; for father Tano,

and father Mota, visitor of the jesuits of Brazil, were on the point of falling victims to it.

It was not so easy to appease the town of Saints, in the province of Rio Janeyro ; and still less that of St. Paul of Piratiningue. Don Ferdinand Rodriguez, who officiated as vicar general in the first, having published the Pope's brief, by order of Don Pedro Albornoz, Administrator of the bishoprick, one of the congregation got up, and said, that he appealed to the king's exchequer. Upon this, Rodriguez excommunicated him directly ; but, by so doing, rendered part of the inhabitants quite furious. The commanding officer was then requested to take in hand the cause of the publick ; and, on his refusing it, the seditious flocked to the church in a tumultuous manner, where they began by vomiting against the vicar all the injuries, the passion with which they were transported could suggest. They, then, fell upon him ; knocked him down ; and, with a sword to his throat, threatened to murder him, if he did not revoke all he had done. But he would not yield ; and his firmness disconcerted them. They then drew up an appeal themselves, and would have forced him to sign it ; but they could only get him to declare, that he approved it as far as the rules of the church, and his conscience, would permit him. They then called for the Pope's brief, and he told them the superior of the jesuits had it.

UPON this, they posted directly to the house of these fathers. The superior on hearing the noise which announced their coming, put on his sacerdotal habits ; took the holy ciborium into his hands ; advanced to the gates of the house ; and made a pathetick discourse to them on the respect and obedience due to the vicar of Jesus Christ. Some of them prostrated themselves to
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adore the Lord's body ; others continued standing, saying, that, though they adored with all their soul the holy sacrament of the altar, they would never part with their slaves, which was all they had to depend upon. One of them went so far as to cry out, that they should fire on the priest. All called for the brief ; and, having got a copy of it, returned to the grand vicar, for his absolution of the censures they might have incurred, but he refused it.

THEY, then, applied for it to some religious, who judging of the case, according to their own manner of stating it, told them they had no need of any ; the brief importing, that it should be published, if there was no just reason for suppressing it. This answer contributed to render the jesuits still more odious ; and nothing was to be heard all over the town but the voices of people crying out, that it was now high time to drive out of it these officious defenders of the liberties of the Indians ; and the reports of their expulsion having reached Rio Janeyro, the captain of a merchant ship then at anchor there, made a general discharge of his cannon, to express his joy at the event. But the governor punished him severely for it. He had already caused another to be whipt for behaving, in a very insolent manner, in the church of the jesuits.

It was during this ferment that there arrived at Brazil an account of the duke of Braganca having been declared king of Portugal, and of the whole kingdom having acknowledged him in that quality. Father Tano immediately foresaw what influence this important event might have on the affairs of Paraguay, as well on account of the aversion which the Portugueze still retained for the Spaniards ; as because the new king of Portugal might not be so soon in a condition to suppress effectually the courses of the Mamelus, more enraged than ever against the jesuits, whom they had but

but just expelled their city. He even foresaw that this prince might possibly be brought to consider their inroads as a means of weakening, in South America, the power of his catholic majesty, with whom it was impossible he should not have a long war to maintain, in support of his newly acquired royalty. But two other reasons effectually determined him not to make any longer stay in Brazil; the first was, that he feared lest a new revolution should make him lose some of the missionaries he brought from Europe, as they were subjects to the new king; the second, that he had already buried several of them since his arrival at Rio Janeyro. He, therefore, reembarked the beginning of November, and came to an anchor before Buenos Ayres the latter end of the same month.

FATHER de Montoya had not been less successful at Madrid, than father Tano had been at Rome. The first thing he did on his arrival there, was to ask an audience of his majesty, who immediately granted it. He presented his memorials to this prince, who perused them with great attention, and named commissaries from among the members of the royal councils of Castile, and the Indies, to examine them, and report their opinion thereon. Father de Montoya required; first, the execution of a law published in 1611, by which the Spaniards were again forbid to deprive of their liberty the Indians who had not been made prisoners in a just war; secondly, that the sovereign Pontif should be requested to confirm the briefs of Paul III and Clement VIII, forbidding the same iniquitous practice; thirdly, that those who proved disobedient thereto should be judged by the holy office; fourthly, that the Neophytes, who had been made slaves and conducted to Brazil, should be set at liberty; and the Mamelus both repressed and punished.

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THESE demands and some others of less importance appeared so very just and reasonable to the commissaries, that the king, by their advice, ordered an edict to be drawn up, in which his majesty, after renewing all the preceding decrees relating to the liberty of the Indians, signified, that being informed of the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue having ruined all the Indian towns, founded in Guayra by the jesuits; of their having carried off and reduced to a state of slavery upwards of thirty thousand Neophytes; of their having begun to commit the same enormities in Tapé, and menacing Uruguay with them; of their having already made slaves there of some free Indians, and massacred others; and all this in contempt of reiterated edicts; and being resolved to punish such monstrous crimes, he declares, the courses of the said inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, commonly called Mamelus, unjust, contrary to all laws both human and divine, and to the honour of the christian religion; orders that the cognizance of the said crimes be referred to the tribunal of the holy office; that all the Indians reduced to slavery be immediately set at liberty; and that such, as hereafter shall be convicted of so crying an injustice and cruelty, should be treated as persons guilty of high treason.

HE, then, renewed the edict, forbidding any of the Indians converted by the jesuits, in Guayra, Tapé, Parana and Uruguay, to be considered otherwise than as immediate vassals to the crown, or to be given in command, or obliged to do personal service to any subject, under any pretext whatsoever. His majesty regulated by the same decree the tribute, which the same Neophytes were to pay to his domain. But this last article could not be put in execution till the year 1649, because,
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till then, the Indians were not in a condition to pay any tribute ; and this epocha must not be forgot, as it will serve to shew the little foundation there was for the accusations brought against the missionaries in regard to this tribute.

BUT father de Montoya, notwithstanding the facility with which he obtained every thing he asked, was well aware, especially since the revolution of Portugal had happened, that this edict of his majesty would never be sufficient to screen the reductions against the violences of the Mamelus, as long as the Indians had no other arms but their arrows and their mancanas to oppose them with. He, therefore, presented the memorial I already mentioned, in which he made evidently appear the necessity of allowing them the use of fire arms. The king, having consulted his royal council of the Indies, came to the resolution I have already mentioned. People in Paraguay were greatly surprized at father Montoya's success in so delicate an affair. But besides the council's not finding any thing to reply to the solidity of the reasons, on which the missionary's demand was founded, his eminent virtues, and the great things he had done in Paraguay, had acquired him the general esteem of prince and people. However, the church he had contributed so much to form, and whose interests he had undertaken so long a voyage to defend, never had the happiness of seeing him again. After some unexpected delays in Spain, he passed over to Peru, where he laboured successfully, in conjunction with the viceroy, to execute some orders he had obtained, those especially which related to the construction and use of fire arms in the reductions ; he then was ordered to Tucuman, and from Tucuman back again to Lima, where he finished his course in the year 1652, aged seventy. In consequence

sequence of the idea which the inhabitants of this city had conceived of his eminent sanctity, his body was interred with honours which had more the air of a triumph than a funeral. The viceroy and principal members of the royal audience carried his remains to the grave.

1640-41. ABOUT this time, a new attempt was made to reduce the Calchaquis to the faith by means of the jesuits, who were now authorized to assure them, that they should never be subjected to any kind of servitude. The governor of Tucuman, which had suffered greatly by the incursions of these barbarians, had, it seems lately concluded a peace with them, and judged this was the only method to make it lasting. Accordingly, two jesuits were sent to them; and these fathers, after many dangers and difficulties, had the good fortune to found a reduction among them by the name of St. Charles. Another jesuit, called father Pastor, offered himself to the bishop to make an excursion into Chaco on the same errand; and, his offer being received by this prelate ever solicitous for the salvation of those committed to his care, he immediately set out with another called Gaspard Cerqueyra, who, being born at the Assumption, was master of the Abipone language current in all this part of Chaco. But, as the Indians on the frontiers of Tucuman were too jealous of the Spaniards to listen willingly to any preachers, they resolved not to stop, till they had reached the *Abipones*, a nation settled at the eastern extremity of this extensive country.

THE first place they made any considerable stay at, was a large Indian town called *Matara*, one hundred leagues from Santiago, where they had been given to understand they would find guides to conduct them to the Abipones. Besides, the *Mataranes* called themselves christians; and, in fact,

fact, several persons had been baptized at Matara by St. Francis Solano ; and, after him, by two jesuits, who had preached the gospel there ; and some of them even had pretty well persevered in the practice of the chief duties of religion, though they scarce knew any thing of the principles of it ; all the ministry of a clergyman sent them lately from Buenos Ayres, with the title of parish priest, consisting in baptizing and instructing the children of those who called themselves christians. Had he contented himself with conferring that sacrament upon such as were in danger of dying, his zeal would have been commendable ; but he visibly exposed the rest to the danger of dishonouring the character he conferred on them ; for they seldom saw him again when they grew up a little, but profaned the exercises of religion with several superstitious practices, and abandoned themselves to all the excesses, of which the infidels gave them the example.

THE only, or, at least, the most ordinary, occupation of the Mataranes, was to visit and regale each other ; but their feasts always terminated in a general intoxication. They celebrated the anniversary of the death of their kinsmen in a pretty odd manner ; they invited all their friends and relations to it, and every one of the guests was obliged to bring with him a dead ostrich. If it happened to be the anniversary of more persons than one, then the guests were to bring, each, as many ostriches, as there were deaths to be commemorated, because, in a kind of funeral procession made on these occasions, and attended with extraordinary ceremonies, each of the deceased was to be represented by his own ostrich. The guests, likewise, made a present to the person who had invited them ; and who, by accepting it, laid himself under the obligation of returning the compliment in kind, when

when he should be invited by them. This engagement even descended to his heirs, when he had not time to satisfy it himself; and to fail in it would have been deemed a just cause of war between the different towns to which the parties belonged. These solemnities lasted four days, on the last of which the company bewailed the deceased for the space of one hour. These tears were succeeded by immoderate laughter, by dancing and feasting, during which it was an indispensable duty to get drunk. They, then, put an end to the meeting by a kind of bacchanalian rites, attended by all the disorders that might be expected from such an improvement upon their natural barbarity.

THE jesuits, however, found them pretty docile; easily prevailed on those who had been baptized, to confess themselves; and left them all in the best dispositions. The cacique even insisted on accompanying them with a good escort, as far as the Abipones; but, though he and his subjects might be supposed to know the country they had to pass through, they, in a short time, were so disheartened by the dangers and difficulties of the journey, that they would have turned back, if the fathers had not found means to detain them by little presents. But, when they found themselves on the point of entering the country of the Abipones, their courage forsook them to such a degree, (for it seems they and the Abipones had been at war for some time past,) that father Pastor had much ado to reassure them. Two of them, however, had resolution to accompany father de Cerqueira, whom father Pastor thought proper to send forward, in order to discover on what side it was properest to enter the country.

THESE reconnoiterers were soon discovered; and, the alarm spread so suddenly all over the country, that in a short time they could discover two hun-

hundred Indians on horseback, but without saddles or stirrups, making towards them in full gallop. But, though their wild and savage looks, their loose disordered hair, and the long javelins they held in their hands, might well be supposed capable of striking terror into a man, who saw himself alone in a manner, and at their discretion; the missionary, full of confidence in him, without whose permission they could not touch a single hair of his head, immediately doubled his pace to meet them; and, lifting up his crucifix, "Children, cried he, two of my brethren formerly announced the gospel to your nation, whose esteem, and even confidence, they acquired. Animated by the same zeal for the salvation of your souls, I am likewise come a great way, in spite of a thousand dangers and difficulties, to endeavour to make you open your eyes to your nearest concerns. 'Tis in vain you attempt to terrify me. Death, with which you threaten me, is the chief object of my wishes. But I conjure you not to spurn at a benefit, of which you would too late repent the loss. Besides, what have you to fear from a single man, and without arms? The confidence with which I put myself into your power ought to convince you, that I am come here merely to serve you."

THE barbarians, at first, stunned by the boldness of the apostolic man, were, in a short time, so charmed with his discourse, that they threw their arms at his feet, and saluted him with the profoundest respect. He, then, told them, that he had left at some distance behind him his superior, a man advanced in years, and greatly esteemed by several Indian nations. Upon this, the commander of the troop immediately dispatched his son to invite father Pastor, in his name, to come and see him; and, the moment the young Indian perceived him, he alighted from his horse, saluted him respectfully, and told

him, that his father longed greatly to see him. The missionary, transported at so unexpected an invitation, immediately set out, and was very well received by the commander, who conducted him, with his companion, to the nearest town, followed by all his horsemen. Here they entered, as it were, in triumph, amidst the inhabitants, who were come to meet them, and conducted them to a cabin, the floor of which they had the precaution, or rather politeness, to cover with skins. Refreshments were then laid before them, but so nauseous, that, notwithstanding their great want of food, and their having been accustomed, for a long time past, to the most insipid, the very sight of it turned their stomachs; and they had much ado to get down a few morsels, and conceal their disgust.

The second day after their arrival, the principal cacique of the nation, called *Caliquila*, being informed by father Pastor of his design to make an establishment in the country, he not only gave his consent, but even expressed great joy at it; and conducted the two missionaries to his own town, situated at the other side of the red river. As soon as they were arrived there, he begged them to give him a circumstantial account of what they intended to do; and, on their complying, told them, that he was very well satisfied the children should be baptized, provided they should not be obliged to go morning and evening to church, as they did in the reductions of the Guaranis; since it could not fail of producing in them a habit of idleness, and, thereby, rendering them less fit for war, as it had happened to the Mataranes.

FATHER Pastor replied, that religious exercises could by no means tend to lessen a man's courage; and that the Spaniards, and even the Guaranis of whom he had been speaking, were a striking proof of it; that, on the contrary, they contributed

buted greatly to inspire true valour ; and that the Mataranes had never been braver, than while they continued good christians. Caliquila yielded to these examples ; but he added, that he would not suffer, that the Abipones should be hindered from carrying their arms into church along with them, or beat with rods, when they had committed any fault, as was customary in the reductions, and among the Spaniards. The father gave up these two points, knowing that he might speak to them again, when religion had taken a deeper root in their hearts. They, then, required, that the caciques, and all the adults who might die in the christian religion, should be buried on the tops of the mountains, near the monuments erected in honour of their divinities. Father Pastor made answer, that this was a superstition incompatible with the holiness of the christian religion ; and that, by the time he should have instructed them better, they would, themselves, be the first to condemn it. To this they made no reply, and from their silence he concluded, that he should easily make them give up this article, likewise.

AFTER a month's stay among the Abipones, father de Cerqueyra set out to reconduct the Mataranes to their own country ; and father Pastor, to compensate the loss of his companion, not content with the separate instructions he every day gave to the children and adults, composed, with the assistance of an interpreter left him by father Cerqueyra, a little catechism in the *Tonocote* language, which is current all over this country. He was soon after obliged to return to Santiago, to the no small concern of the Abipones, to whom he promised that he would by no means abandon them. Accordingly, he very often applied to his provincial in their behalf ; but the reductions in

the province of Uruguay, which were growing more numerous from one day to another, required so many missionaries, that it was impossible to let the Abipones have one. [Perhaps, it did not appear as evidently then, as it has done since, of what importance it was to make a solid establishment in this part of Chaco, and gain over a nation, which might have contributed to it more than any other, and which on being neglected, came to be one of the cruelest enemies to the christian reductions. Be that as it will, the scarcity of missionaries was soon after encreased, in consequence of an edict issued by the royal council of the Indies, forbidding any missionaries to enter Paraguay, but such as were natural born subjects of the crown of Spain; so that father Pastor, who had been sent over to Europe to solicit a reinforcement of evangelical labourers; of a numerous body gathered at Seville to accompany him back, could take with him but one priest and thirteen novices and students. This was not the only time the propagation of the gospel in Paraguay received a check from restrictions of this kind. The royal council of the Indies did not as yet penetrate the motives of those, who inspired this mistrust, to which the conduct of former foreign missionaries had not given the least room.]

THE Abipones are in general above the middle stature, and of a robust constitution. In summer they go quite naked; but in winter cover themselves with skins. They hang their mancanas to their neck; carry a quiver slung across their shoulders; and never go without a bow in their right hand, and a javelin or very long arrow in the left. They paint themselves all over with different colours, and those think themselves handsomest, who make themselves look most like tigers. They make holes in their lips and nostrils, and several parts.

parts of their skins, to stick ostrich feathers into them ; and to see them thus cloathed all over with feathers, one would imagine they wanted to soar into the air. The beard appears so hideous a thing to them, that, when the least hair appears, they directly pull it up by the roots.

To have a right to wear his hair among these Indians, a man must have killed an enemy ; and, to attain to military honours, and acquire any reputation for courage and bravery, he must have passed through tryals like those I described in speaking of the Guaycuras. The Abipones, from their infancy, accustom themselves to the greatest insensibility, by inflicting the sharpest pains on themselves, so that they, at last, bring themselves to laugh under the severest. After all, we must allow, that these barbarians have a true notion of courage, which consists more, and shews itself better, in a constancy to suffer great evils, than in a readiness to expose oneself to the greatest dangers.

THE women, among the Abipones, are covered from the waist to the knees ; and pricked all over the rest of the body ; but especially the face and bosom. Very often, all that can be seen of their skins is a kind of mosaic work, composed of different colours sunk into the skin ; and all of them shave the back part of their head. At the death of a cacique, the whole nation, both men and women change names, and eat no fish for a month. They seldom rear but one child of each sex, murdering the rest as fast as they come into the world, till the eldest are strong enough to walk alone. They think to justify this cruelty by saying, that, as they are almost constantly travelling from one place to another, it is impossible for them to take care of more infants than two at a time ; one to be carried by the father, and the other by the mother.

THE old women take upon them to be great witches ; and it would be no easy matter to convert them. Father Pastor, having one day visited one of them at the point of death, and having told her that if she died without baptism, her soul would be eternally tormented by the devils, she very calmly answered, that they had been her friends for a long time ; and she was, therefore, very sure that they would do her no harm. However, to judge of matters by the dispositions, in which the missionaries left these Indians, there is all the reason in the world to believe, that the gospel would make the greatest progress among them. At least it is certain, that no one could be better disposed than Caliquila, at the time father Pastor was obliged to quit him. This cacique, finding it impossible to detain him any longer, accompanied him, with several of his vassals, to Santiago ; found him in provisions during the whole journey ; and assured him, at his departure to return home, that the fathers of the company would be well received in every place where he had the least credit.

To reassume the thread of our history ; at the time that father Pastor was preparing to make Jesus Christ known to the Abipones, the missionaries between the Parana and the Uruguay, having received certain advice, that the Mamelus were making great preparations of war, formed, out of all the militia of the reductions, a body of four thousand men, some armed with arrows, and some with slings ; for as yet they could only give fire-arms to the officers, who amounted to three hundred. This little army took post in a spot within a days march of the enemy, who were already remounting the little river Acaray, in three hundred pirogues, to the number of four hundred Mamelus and three hundred and seventy Tupis. But, notwithstanding their inferiority, they despised

sed the Neophytes so much, that, as soon as they received intelligence of their approach, they tugged harder than ever at their oars to join them.

THE christians were posted in a little gulf, under the command of a cacique called *Abiaru*, who, seeing the enemy come towards them with so much confidence, thought proper to encrease it, by pretending to fear them. He, therefore, remounted the *Acaray*, with five or six pirogues, as if he only intended to parley with them. The *Mamelus* permitted him to approach; but, when he was within hearing, the commander ordered him to be told, that he had nothing to do but surrender at discretion. *Abiaru*, upon this, assuming an air of intrepidity, reproached the commander, who was come forward to receive his answer, with the cruelty and injustice, with which his nation had treated christians, who had never given him him the least cause of complaint; assured him, that they were all resolved to perish rather than lose their liberty; and added, that it was a shame for men, who called themselves christians, to attempt to deprive, of it, those who professed the same religion.

THE commander, instead of making any answer, ordered his little fleet to keep moving on, till, at length, he discovered that of the Neophytes making towards him leisurely in the finest order. The next moment, the christians began the battle by a discharge of a cannon, which sunk three of the enemy's pirogues. The missionaries and the old men, with the women and children, were all this time on the banks of the river, invoking, with a loud voice, the apostle of the Indies; nor was it in vain. The enemy, being very roughly handled by water, imagined they might have better fortune ashore; but they were greatly mistaken. The Neophytes attacked them with so much resolution, that they must have entirely

defeated them, had not night favoured their retreat. For, though Abiaru had lost but three men, he thought better to give his soldiers, greatly fatigued, some little respite, than pursue the enemy in the dark, at the risk of falling into some ambuscade.

THE next day, the Mamelus appeared again in order of battle; upon which the Neophytes likewise formed, and marched up to them; and, as the enemy had lost a great number of men the preceeding day, Abiaru extended his troops to inclose them. He then attacked them so suddenly, that they fell directly into disorder; and what followed, was rather a butchering, than a battle. A sudden hurricane having parted the two armies, the few Mamelus, who remained, took advantage of it to fly into a wood, whither, the storm having soon abated, the Neophytes pursued them. This produced a third engagement, which, though carried on in small parties, was attended with great bloodshed. At last, the enemy, after a pretty vigorous resistance, took advantage of their situation to retreat. The greatest loss fell on the Tupis, several of whom came in afterwards and surrendered to the christians, being no longer able, they said, to put up with the pride and cruelty of the Mamelus. Abiaru's loss, in the two last engagements, amounted, as in the first, to but three men killed and forty wounded.

THE Mamelus, afraid for the future to approach the Indians of the reductions, attacked, in small parties, such other Indians, as they could meet with. But they had soon reason to grow sick of this new attempt. The Neophytes of the reduction of St. Theresa, after the destruction of that town, had fled for refuge towards the great river Tebiquari, and some wild Indians, even of these in alliance with

with the Mamelus, happening to meet with a party of them, joined them as friends, and were received as such. But, when the banditti least expected it, they fell upon them, cut them to pieces; and then made the best of their way to the reductions on the Parana. Other wild Indians, who had been attacked by two other parties of these banditti, having had the good fortune to get the better of them, massacred them all without mercy. From these little losses, which served greatly to keep the new christians upon their guard, they reaped as considerable advantages, as from their victories, which had cost twelve hundred Mamelus their lives, and destroyed a great part of their auxiliary troops. The chief of these advantages was the reunion of almost all those, who, for fear of being made slaves, had fled from the reductions, and the release of several, whom the Mamelus had, even lately, carried off, and whom they could not now keep so good a watch upon, on account of the perpetual apprehensions they were under of being taken themselves.

1642. THE reductions, at this time, enjoyed a tranquility so much the more agreeable, as it seemed no longer in the power of the Mamelus to interrupt it; and the form of their government had almost attained the perfection, in which we now behold it. Those in the two provinces of Parana and Uruguay amounted to twenty-nine, including such as had been lately repaired; and each had two priests, very much taken up in reviving the fervour of the Neophytes, greatly abated by their late misfortunes, especially in the province of Uruguay; and in taking proper measures to fill up the vacancies among them. But, though the Mamelus durst not attack the reductions, they prowled about the woods and desarts in order to carry off all the Indians they could meet with;

with ; and a great number of Indians, that it had not as yet been possible to rally, fell into their hands, and were very cruelly treated by them. These banditti, having attempted the virtue of their female captives, murdered a widow, who had refused to comply with their brutal passion ; a body of the Neophytes, as soon as the report of these disorders reached the reductions, took the field ; pursued the miscreants to the mountains of Tapé ; killed the greatest part of them ; and delivered upwards of two thousand captives, among whom there happened to be several infidels, who gave themselves up to their deliverers ; and, in a short time, became excellent christians. This success at last convinced the Mamelus, that it was dangerous for them to appear even in the neighbourhood of the reductions.

BUT, while the Jesuits and the new christians were triumphing over a foreign enemy, they were daily approaching the danger of being ruined by a domestic one. This was the celebrated Don Bernardin de Cardenas, born in the city of la Plata, of a very noble family, who had entered very young into the order of St. Francis, in which, besides leading a most mortified life, he made such a figure, both as a preacher and a missionary, that, though he had been first stripped of the guardianship of the convent at la Plata, on account of his indiscretions, and afterwards silenced, he was, through the recommendation of one of the principal magistrates of the country, named by his catholic majesty to the bishoprick of the Assumption. Don Bernardin had no sooner received the news of his promotion, than he immediately began to take all, if not more liberties in the diocese of la Plata, than it entitled him to in his own. But it was not long before he gave the archbishop just reason to write him a letter civilly requesting him

him to go and govern that, to which he had been named, in conformity to the king's brevet, till he should receive his bulls, and be consecrated; it being customary with the chapters of South America, as soon as they receive the king's brevet, to chuse the person named in it to govern the diocese.

DON Bernardin, convinced that this request was but a civil order, with which his metropolitan could soon find means to make him comply, immediately withdrew. But, as he did not chuse to appear at the Assumption till he had been consecrated, he repaired to Salta in the diocese of Tucuman, where, on the strength of a letter, (the authenticity of which has never been proved, which, besides, was dated about eighteen months before his being named to the bishoprick of the Assumption,) from a cardinal at Rome, mentioning the expedition of his bulls, the jesuits settled there gave him an opinion in writing, that he might be consecrated, without having them to present. The jesuits of the university of Corduba, when wrote to for a confirmation of this opinion, flatly contradicted it. But Don Bernardin suppressed this letter; and, by producing the opinion of the jesuits at Salta, prevailed on Don Melchior Maldonado, bishop of Tucuman, to consecrate him.

SOME time after Don Bernardin embarked on the Paraguay for the Assumption. On entering his diocese, he discovered two barks with deputies on board, sent to compliment him in the name of all the different orders of that capital, and present him with all manner of refreshments. These barks were followed by several others full of people of all ranks, impatient to see a bishop, of whom they had heard such wonders. At nightfall, he begged they might withdraw, and leave him to himself; but the deputies answered, that they could not leave him, being charged to have a strict eye

to the security of his person ; but that they would take the greatest care not to interrupt his rest. Towards midnight, they were greatly surprized to find themselves awakened by a long and severe discipline, which the prelate gave himself ; and, as the same thing happened the following nights ; and he every day pontifically celebrated the divine mysteries, the banks of the river and the adjacent country continually rang with the blessings given him by both Indians and Spaniards, several of whom posted to the capital, to announce the arrival of a second St. Thomas.

DON Bernardin landed four leagues from the city, and entered a farm house belonging to the jesuits, who were assembled there to receive him, and were greatly surprized at the reception he gave them, considering, that he had expressed the greatest indignation at their brethren of Corduba. But the prelate had his reasons for behaving in this manner. Resolved, as he was, to take possession of his bishoprick the minute he arrived at the Assumption, he was afraid of encreasing the opposition he might meet ; and judged, that the jesuits, though they did not approve his proceedings, would have discretion enough not to blame them.

DON Bernardin no sooner reached the Assumption, than, without waiting to be chosen by his chapter to exercise the episcopal functions, 'till his bulls should arrive, he began to act the part of a bishop in every respect. This determined, the most respectable part of it, both for number and authority, not only to oppose his exercising any jurisdiction, but even to separate from him, in order to celebrate the divine mysteries in some other church. None of the regular clergy, except the jesuits, had a church fit for their reception ; and the seculars were afraid to give them any, lest they might incur the displeasure of their
new

new bishop. The jésuits, therefore, lent them theirs; but not till they had good reason to think, that Don Bernardin would not be offended at it.

THIS irregularity in Don Bernardin was soon followed by several others; such as taking the parishes, that became vacant, into his own hands, as well as the revenues of them, and saying mass two or three times a day, on pretence that he had not priests enough to answer the necessities of his flock. But, his mortified life, his care to make his priests punctually celebrate mass, and his assiduity to celebrate it himself pontifically, after assisting on his knees at those said by his priests, joined to his daily exhortations, made such an impression on the minds of the people, as to make most of them overlook, what otherwise they could not fail to discover amiss in his proceedings.

THE person, whose esteem Don Bernardin wished most, in all appearance, to acquire, was the governor, Don Gregorio de Hinistrosa, whom, therefore, as well as his brother, father Hinistrosa, a friar, he received, when they came to the cathedral, with unusual honours, which the governor often repaid with an ill-placed complaisance, that the bishop never failed to make his advantage of. Accordingly, it was not long, before Don Bernardin, taking it into his head that it was his duty to see executed a sentence of demolition, passed some time before, by the royal audience of Charcas, on one of the convents of the city, for having been built without the king's leave, he brought the governor to assist him; though no complaint had been made of the inhabitants against the owners, who, besides, there is great reason to think had obtained a respite of the sentence, till the pleasure of the Spanish court could be known on the occasion.

SOME

SOME time after this, Don Bernardin received the pope's bulls, and the king's brevets; and took care to read them himself to his flock; omitting however, some clauses in the first, which destroyed their validity, in consequence of the irregularities attending his consecration. He then made a discourse suitable to the occasion, and concluded it by saying, that nobody, he hoped, would any longer doubt of his being invested with unlimited power, both spiritual and temporal.

THE governor thought proper to dissemble, for the present, the offence which it was impossible for these words not to give him. But he soon shewed, that he paid very little regard to them, by sending to prison one Moralez, an officer of the inquisition, who had quarrelled with a civil officer; and even threatening, it is said, to hang him. The bishop, informed of every thing by his nephew, a friar of the order of St. Francis, on whom, though unworthy of them, by the secular, or rather dissolute, life he led, he had heaped many favours, on account of his having brought him his bulls and brevets; and spirited up by his representing to him the right of Moralez not to be prosecuted in any secular tribunal, immediately proceeded to the prison, with the holy sacrament in his hands, to demand the discharge of Moralez; and, on the gaoler's refusing to comply, ordered a table to be brought out, and placed the vessel, carrying the holy sacrament, upon it.

THE rector of the college, who happened to come by, while the bishop and his attendants were waiting to see Moralez discharged, having exhausted, to no purpose, all his rhetoric, at the impropriety of exposing the sacrament, and even the episcopal dignity, in such a place, and on such an occasion; and thinking that the release of Moralez would be the least of the two evils, repaired to the gover-

governor, and prevailed upon him to consent to it. Don Bernardin, not satisfied with this victory, thought proper to send to the governor for the money and papers seized at Moralez's house; and the governor was weak enough to return them, in spite of all the remonstrances of his brother against it, who tho' an ecclesiastick, and even a friar, had too much good sense and spirit, not to openly censure the indecency and illegality of the bishop's proceedings. Don Bernardin then gave Moralez the tonsure and the minor orders, thinking thereby to keep him still further out of the governor's reach. This adventure proved ample matter of joke to many, who could see, with indifference, the spiritual power so abused, and the civil so despised. It was, they said, to be wished, that the bishop and the governor should never agree, since their agreeing had produced the demolition of a church; and their disagreeing, the enlargement of a prisoner.

WHATEVER the governor's motives might be, in thus tamely submitting to the indignities offered him by the bishop, he soon proved that it was not avarice. The bishop, having expressed a liking for some plate of his, as fit for the church, the governor immediately sent it to him, and ordered it to be presented to him in the church, that the people might see that he retained no animosity against him. In return, the bishop, on receiving the present, spoke greatly in favour of the governor; but he had, it seems, his views in so doing: for the moment he had finished his harangue to the people, he called to the governor's messengers, and told them, that all he now wanted was the bason and ewers which he had seen at their master's. Don Gregorio, on hearing it, immediately sent them, with assurances, that he had nothing to which Don Bernardin was not perfectly welcome.

THIS

THIS was promising too much, to one of Don Bernardin's character; accordingly, Don Gregorio had soon reason to repent it. These first demands of the bishop were immediately followed by such others, as the governor could not comply with, without betraying the rights of others, as he had before done his own; and his refusal to comply, with such indecent usage, as the governor could not help returning, by reproaching the bishop with his avarice, and the scandals he permitted in his house. The bishop, pierced to the quick by such unexpected accusations, the more mortifying by being just, affected to consider them as a calumny; and a few days after excommunicated the governor, who, thereupon, rather than give occasion to any scandal, voluntarily absented himself from a procession, in which he was to carry the royal standard.

GREAT as the governor's moderation must have been, to behave in this manner, it did not satisfy father Cardenas, the bishop's nephew, who, therefore, insulted him openly in the streets. Though the governor made no return to these insults, for the present, but by desiring father Cardenas, not to tempt him any further; he did not forget them; and he accordingly came some days after, with an armed force, to seize him in his uncle's palace. But not only father Cardenas slipped out of his hands, but the bishop excommunicated him again, with all the soldiers who accompanied him; and, at the same time, imposed a fine of fifty crowns upon every one of them.

BUT, when the bishop's anger cooled a little, he thought better of the matter, and sent word to the governor, that he was very well disposed to absolve him. Though Don Gregorio made no great account of the first excommunication, the second gave him some uneasiness; so that he was
very

very glad that the bishop should thus, of himself, offer to absolve him. He, therefore, immediately repaired to the episcopal palace, and threw himself on his knees, the moment he came into the bishop's presence. The bishop, surprized and disconcerted, did the same. The governor, then, called for the bishop's hand, to kiss it. The bishop, in his turn, desired to kiss the governor's; and would have done it, if the rector of the college, who happened to be present, had not interposed. To see the governor, and the bishop, placed opposite to each other, in this posture, it would have been hard to guess, which was the judge, and which the culprit. At length, the bishop absolved the governor and his soldiers from the ecclesiastical censure, which they had incurred; but insisted on the latter's paying the fine of fifty crowns, imposed upon them.

By this time, the bishop had taken such a liking to the spiritual arms of the church, which ought never to be used, but against spiritual transgressors guilty of scandal, and merely to deprive them of a participation in spiritual matters; that he employed them, indifferently, against all transgressors, and in all matters; so as to bring them, at last, into almost general contempt. He affected to consider every one, who gave him any personal affront, as an enemy to the church; and every one who shewed him any personal respect, as her friend. The governor, on his side, betrayed great weakness in the exercise of his temporal authority; sometimes carrying it farther than there was any occasion for; and, at other times, shewing equal remissness in the exercise of it. But, though the bishop was much more to blame than the governor, the great shew of piety which he still made, accompanied by a great flow of eloquence, intermixed with tears and sighs, and the affectation of

some extraordinary gifts, so captivated the generality of his diocese, that he was permitted to go to the most unusual lengths; excommunicating the governor again and again, and the other officers most necessary to the due administration of civil justice; and taxing their absolution at most extraordinary sums, in matters not within his jurisdiction; or, if they were, for offences so slight in themselves, or committed in consequence of such provocation, as by no means to deserve any extraordinary animadversion. At length, he repeatedly interdicted several convents, and even almost all the churches and priests of the capital, from a spirit of resentment against a few individuals.

As the governor had but too just reason to conclude, that father de Cardenas, besides his having insulted the royal authority, in the person of the king's representative, and disturbed the public peace by his conversation and libels, was the chief promoter of all his uncle's violences, he, even without consulting his brother, took him one night, by force, out of the Franciscan convent, the guardian of which had refused to give him up by fair means, on pretence of his being of the bishop's household, as the bishop had done before, on pretence of his belonging to the convent; ordered him to be left, bound hand and foot, on an eminence in the neighbourhood, on the banks of the river; and, when he had remained there for two days, in that condition, without any nourishment, or any bed to lie on, but the bare earth, and exposed to all the injuries of the weather, and stings of every kind of insect, sent him to Corrientes, on board an Indian bark, wrapped up in a woman's cap and cloak, and with a very small quantity of biscuit and salt meat to subsist on, during the voyage. On the other hand, the bishop, suspecting father Hinistrosa to be the chief promoter

moter of this violence of his brother, and the spirit of resistance he now began to shew, banished him the diocese.

In the mean time, all was confusion in the capital. The governor and the bishop no longer kept any measures with each other; and all the inhabitants sided with one or the other, according as their views or interests directed them. Don Gregorio aimed at nothing less than making himself master of the bishop's person, who, on his side, did all that lay in his power to seize that of the governor, when he thought he had sufficiently inflamed his flock against him; and nothing was now to be heard, in every quarter of the city, but the confused and alarming noise of bells, drums, and trumpets.

THE jesuits were amongst those, who alternately experienced Don Bernardin's good or ill will; and that, very often, in one and the same day, both from the pulpit, and in private conversation. In his first letters to the king, he represented them as the only ecclesiasticks duly qualified for the arduous task of civilizing, and converting the Indians. But he, at length, so entirely changed his note, that he inveighed against them, as persons guilty of high treason, by depriving the crown of so many vassals; and even rapine, by robbing the subjects of so many servants; though he could not but know, that their strenuous defence of the Indians, from the drudgery of personal service, was what had most contributed to their success in reducing them.

1643. Don Bernardin, at last, tired with that confusion, of which he had been the sole author, and not having discretion or resolution enough to put an end to it, by absolving the objects of his anger and avarice from the heavy excommunications and fines he had imposed upon

them, thought the best thing he could do, was to leave them all to themselves. He therefore embarked on the Paraguay, on Whitſun-eve, leaving with his vicar a written order, for the interdiction of divine ſervice, in all places where the governor might happen to be. But the chapter, out of reſpect to ſo great a ſolemnity, hindered the vicar from publiſhing it, till the Monday following; when the names of the governor and ſeveral others were found ſtuck up on the excommunication table without any cauſe being aſſigned for excommunicating them. Many perſons conſidered ſo irregular an act, as null and void in itſelf; ſo that ſome churches were kept conſtantly open, and others conſtantly ſhut. The governor, in particular, alledged, that, in virtue of his office, he could not be conſidered as a perſon exteriorly excommunicated, and that he ought to be abſolved. The jeſuits, being obliged to ſpeak on the occaſion, gave it as their opinion, that, as he had no war on his hands, he ſhould, however, to avoid giving ſcandal, conſider himſelf as ſuch, till abſolved by the biſhop himſelf. But the friars of two other convents deciding, that the vicar-general ought to abſolve him, Don Gregorio went, for that purpoſe, at the head of his gariſon, to the vicar's houſe, and, on his reſuſing to do it, ordered the doors and windows to be nailed up; and then ſent him word, that, till he did, no one ſhould be permitted to go in or out. But the vicar-general holding out notwithstanding, the governor, tired with waiting, diſmiſſed his troops, and retired.

On his return home, he cauſed depositions to be taken of all the diſorders committed or occaſioned by Don Bernardin, ſince his arrival in his dioceſe; and ſent them to the royal audience of Charcas. Don Bernardin, on the news of it, ſent ſome memorials to the ſame tribunal, in which he charged

charged the governor, upon oath, with the most odious crimes. This, however, proved a fortunate step for both the governor and the inhabitants in general, as it furnished father Truxillo, a Franciscan, whom the bishop had appointed his vicerent and vicar-general, with full power to take off the interdict and absolve of all censures, a just motive for restoring tranquility. For, finding, that both interdict and excommunications were so ill grounded, he took them all off, in consideration of the affair being removed, both as civil and criminal, before the superior tribunals; and the parties excommunicated binding themselves in body and goods, to submit to the sentence of such superior courts. This step of father Truxillo's was productive of what some deemed a still happier consequence: it produced in Don Bernardin so violent a hurry to get back to the Assumption, that, though he had taken into his head to visit the reductions under the jesuits, which might have possibly been ruined, even by his zeal to forward them; and one of their pastors was come to conduct him, with a party of Indians, and every thing requisite to make his visit safe and agreeable to him; he just gave himself time to pass through one of them.

BUT great as his hurry was, he thought proper to stop short at Yaguaron, a large Indian town eight leagues from the Assumption; and, to avoid being interrupted there, issued a strong order, forbidding all persons, except the regular clergy, to come there without his leave, under pain of excommunication, and a fine of fifty crowns. Having afterwards invited, in the most friendly manner, Don Diego Pontius de Leon, treasurer of his chapter; and Don Ferdinand Sanchez, another of his canons; to come and see him; instead of giving them the reception they expected, he abused them as traitors to

their bishop and the church ; and then, without permitting them to utter a single syllable, ordered them to be shut up separately in different rooms, where they continued, in spite of all the superiors of the several convents of the Assumption could do, for the space of forty days, when they had the good fortune to make their escape ; the treasurer, to Corrientes ; the canon, to the Assumption, where he took refuge in the house of the governor, who gave him a very friendly reception.

Now, at length, Don Gregorio, these two ecclesiasticks, and all others who wished well to the governor, or ill to the bishop, began to deliberate on the propriety of withdrawing from the jurisdiction of a prelate, who, according to the opinion of the vice-provincials of the franciscans and dominicans, strongly supported by the canons arguments, never had any ; and soon resolved upon doing it. But, unfortunately for the peace of the province, the bishop happening to get intelligence of it, published an ordinance, declaring null and void all the absolutions given by father Truxillo. Soon after, he published a sentence of excommunication against the treasurer and canon ; an inhibition to treat with or even speak to the governor ; and, at length, laid the whole city under an interdict, Christmas day and that of the Circumcision, in the church of the college, only excepted. At the same time, he thought proper to add to these disorders by exempting, of his own authority, several Indians bound to personal service ; particularly all those belonging to the persons he had excommunicated.

THE governor, deeply affected at so many disorders, and unable to remedy them, the fear people had conceived of the bishop having almost entirely annihilated his authority, at last resolved to be reconciled to him, and repaired for that purpose to Yaguaron, attended only by his secretary and a few

few officers. On his arrival, he could not find a house willing to receive him, nor did any one offer to do him the least service; all avoiding him as an excommunicated person. However, as he sincerely desired to be absolved, he resolved to drink the cup to the very lees; and Don Bernardin, on his side, took not the least pains to lessen the bitterness of it. Not content with seeing Don Gregorio at his feet, he gave him only a conditional absolution, nor even that, untill he had bound himself by oath and in writing, to pay a fine laid on him of four thousand arobes of the herb of Paraguay. He even thought proper that all the inhabitants should be witnesses to their governor's humiliation; and, before he absolved him, reprimanded him with as little ceremony as he would have done a man of the lowest rank, convicted of the most enormous transgressions.

THE governor's example was followed by a great number of other excommunicated persons, who repaired to Yaguaron in a body, thinking they might, thereby, make the greater impression on the bishop; but they had no better success. After taxing them with the hardness of their hearts, and terrifying many of them by the relation of some visions, in which he pretended that not only all the powers he had assumed, had been ratified and enlarged, but the use he had made of them approved; and insisting that all nature was in his power to destroy the enemies of the church, he absolved them on their binding themselves, by oath and in writing, to pay fines, which not one of them was able to pay. Another excommunicated person, even one of those who had a hand in the carrying off of father de Cardenas, succeeded better by the following stratagem. He repaired to Yaguaron in the habit of a penitent with a scourge in his hand; and, as soon as he came within sight of the bishop, who then happened to be in the

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church, laid the strokes on his shoulders so heavily, crying out all the while, "mercy, mercy," that the bishop took him up, embraced him, loaded him with praises and favours, and dismissed him without any condition.

On the Maundy Thursday following, the ecclesiastical judges took it into their heads to open an office in the choir to receive I know not what church dues ; and told all those who presented themselves to pay them, that, if they had communicated with excommunicated persons, they had themselves incurred the same censures, and could not be absolved from them, till they should bind themselves, by oath and in writing, to submit to the conditions that might be imposed on them. Most of them signed rather than be deprived of the sacraments at so holy a season. Two, who, without making any submission, had stept in the croud, one to the tribunal of confession, and the other to the Lord's table, were, on discovery, thrust out. The news of these abominable proceedings greatly exasperated the camp master general, Don Sebastian de Leon, who, having been excommunicated by the bishop, chose to continue so, rather than submit to be the victim of his avarice, or rather that of those about him, and the tool of his vengeance against the governor. He, therefore, repaired to the cathedral ; and, after reproaching the judges with their selling their master, like Judas, threatened, if they did not immediately desist from their simoniacal dealings, to drive them with his belt out of the house of God, which they thus profaned, not by selling beasts and birds for the sacrifice, but the sacrifice itself.

THIS military reprimand succeeded so well, that all those, who had not as yet complied with the conditions required of them, were admitted to the sacraments without it ; and those who had, but were unable to pay the tax imposed on them, had it reduced

duced to one fifth by the licentiate, Don Francis Chaparro ; who, afterwards, on the bishop's discovering what he had done, and fining him thirty thousand pounds of the herb of Paraguay, assembled all those from whom he had taken any obligations, tore the obligations to pieces ; declaring to the persons who had given them, that they no longer owed any thing.

THESE disorders were followed by still greater ; the bishop taking upon him to levy, by force, the fines imposed by him, so as to fill the whole province with terror and confusion, especially as the Indians given in command were treated as private property, and wrested from their encomenderoes, not to be set at liberty, but to pass over to the service of the bishop, his officers and confidants. In a word, he assumed to himself the exercise of all royal as well as episcopal jurisdiction ; the governor, for a long time not intervening further, than to rescue out of his hands some Indians, whom their encomenderoes had forfeited, and a large quantity of the herb of Paraguay.

THIS vigorous step of the governor proved the cause of another rupture between him and the bishop, who immediately summoned the governor to the payment of his fine of Paraguay, (though he had already paid it to the person commissioned by the bishop to receive it) because it had never reached his hands, having perished on the way, part of it by being put on board a leaky boat, and the rest some other way. Besides, Don Gregorio insisted that he had no more to give. Upon this, notwithstanding, Don Bernardin declared the governor relapsed into his former excommunication ; thundered out a new one against him, for new excesses against the church ; and forbid all manner of persons to communicate with him, render him any service, or obey him under the same penalties, and that of being

being banished the province. These fresh excesses against the governor were followed by new interdicts against the several religious orders, and fresh outrages against the jesuits in particular ; so that in a short time it became dangerous to administer any spiritual assistance to the sick, though the town was afflicted with a contagious disease, or even bury the dead in consecrated ground ; the bishop refusing to take off his censures in spite of all the representations made to him by the most respectable persons. In the midst of this distress, three hundred Guaycurus appeared in sight of the capital, to the great terror of the inhabitants, who saw the hands of their governor and his officers tied up by the rash decree of the prelate, to whom, therefore, new representations were made by the chapter in a body ; the inhabitants not chusing that the governor, however willing, should leave them for that purpose. But the bishop would pay no regard to the chapter's interposition. At length, however, he consented to take off the interdict, and suspend the governor's excommunication for fifteen days, on his giving fresh security, at the intercession of a *Devota* ; and in the mean time the Guaycurus disappeared ; but the war broke out again between the bishop and the governor with redoubled violence and fury.

1764. DON Gregorio had just received a letter from the marquis de la Mancera, viceroy of Peru, with orders not to tolerate any longer the oppression under which the inhabitants of his province were groaning, nor the contempt of his own authority ; to reestablish every thing on the footing prescribed by the laws and ordinances ; and oblige the bishop to confine himself within the bounds of his jurisdiction, which was merely spiritual. The governor, on the perusal of this letter, felt a return of all his former courage, and resolved to exert for the future all his rights ; but he did not
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sufficiently know himself ; at the same time that he had to deal with a man, to whom he had but too well made himself known.

THE governor began by taking a general review of his troops ; and then, in obedience to the viceroy, ordered all the Portuguese established at the Assumption to set out for Santafé ; gave notice to the Indians in the neighbourhood of the capital, that he intended to visit them ; and desired they might hold themselves in readiness to execute the orders of his majesty with which he was entrusted. Don Bernardin, considering himself as the object of them, immediately sent to the Assumption orders to declare that the governor should be still considered as an excommunicated person, the fifteen days, during which his excommunication had been suspended, being elapsed ; and to forbid all the inhabitants of the country, whether Spaniards or Indians, to join him on pain of incurring the heaviest censures he could lay on them.

Don Gregorio, on his side, gave out that he was to execute a very important commission for the service of the king ; and applied in his majesty's name to have his censures taken off ; but all the answer he could obtain, was, that the bishop alone could grant his request, upon which he immediately set out for Yaguaron. On his arrival at Ita, he met the licentiate Don Pedro Navarro, who served him with an order in writing not to proceed any further, on pain of a major excommunication, and a heavy fine, for him and all those who should follow him. Don Gregorio refused to listen to this act, on pretence that it should be served by a notary, upon which the licentiate laid the town under an interdict. Don Gregorio, on his arrival at Yaguaron, went straight to the church with all his retinue ; and the sight of him struck so much terror into Don Bernardin, that he thought proper to ab-

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solve him. He then embraced him; celebrated high mass; preached according to custom after the gospel; loaded Don Gregorio with praises; and invited him to dinner, during which not a word was said of their past dissensions. Dinner being over, the governor requested the bishop to suspend the interdict of the capital, at least till after the feast of the Assumption, by which it was called; and the bishop very graciously complied; so that this reconciliation had all the air of being a very perfect and sincere one.

At the same time, father Lopez, the provincial of the Dominicans, obtained leave to rebuild the convent of his order at the Assumption, which the bishop had demolished; and on his arrival at the Assumption, where, by the bishop's orders, he was received with great honours, immediately set about it. This favour to the Dominicans was attended with marks of the strongest dislike to the jesuits, whose grammar and other schools he soon after commanded to be shut up.

SOME days after he issued an ordinance depriving all the regular priests of the power of preaching and absolving; but he soon restored it to them all, except the jesuits. The rector, upon this, immediately waited on the grand vicar, to beg of him to order all the priests of his house to be examined; and, if he judged them capable, to give them the same powers he had done to others. The grand vicar answered that he would write about it to the bishop; and he did so, accordingly. The bishop answered that he did not in the least doubt of the capacity of the jesuits, but that it imported the service of God not to permit them to administer the sacraments, or preach. He could not, however, be very easy in regard to this inhibition, as he had observed no formality in issuing it; and could not
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doubt of the complaint, made against him to the royal audience of Charcas, having made great impression on the members of it.

For these and many other reasons, he thought it behoved him to make the governor approve of his designs against the jesuits, or at least engage him not to oppose them. For this purpose, he had several conferences with him, in which he did all that lay in his power to persuade him, that the good intelligence, which reigned between them for some time after his arrival in his diocese, would never have been interrupted, had it not been for a set of men, who regulated all their actions by the maxims of a most dangerous policy; that they had, in particular, improved the carrying off of father Cardenas, to exasperate him; adding, that he now plainly saw they had hurried him to great lengths; and that he was desirous of making reparation for any excess committed against him; that he was still the more disposed to it, by what he had heard of his family from the provincial of the Dominicans, who had told him, among other things, that he had a daughter in Chili, whose fortune was neither answerable to her family nor her merit; that he would be glad to contribute to establish her in a suitable manner; and that he, therefore, forgave him the four thousand crowns he still owed for the absolution from the censures he had incurred; that he would render a favourable sentence in regard to the outrage he had offered his nephew, by exposing properly the excesses committed by that religious against his person. To these he added several other promises, and concluded by assuring him, that he would always have his interest at heart, where it did not clash with the rights of the church, for which he was resolved to sacrifice every thing, even his life, as every good bishop ought to do.

A FEW days after, Don Gregorio received a visit from the provincial of the Dominicans, who began by speaking to him in a manner to let him see, what chiefly engaged Don Bernardin to wish to be reconciled with him. This father opened his discourse by a long harangue on the interest of a governor to remain inseparably united with his bishop. He told him, that both religion and prudence required he should forget all that was past, that it was always troublesome, and often dangerous, to have recourse to the superior tribunals ; that it generally proved detrimental to a man's character and reputation ; that there occurred several things, which a prudent man should not seem to take notice of ; that, even in cases where a bishop should attempt to encroach on the secular jurisdiction, it was more secure and decent to make up matters in an amicable manner, than to proceed to open violence ; and that by the letter he had received from the viceroy, this appeared likewise to be his excellency's opinion ; in a word, that it would be worth his while to yield something to live upon good terms with a bishop like Don Bernardin de Cardenas.

DON Gregorio has since affirmed, that father Lopez, after speaking to him in this manner, assured him that the prelate was determined to drive the jesuits out of the Assumption, and out of all the missions of the province of Parana, that happened to be within his diocese ; and that he made no doubt of seeing his conduct in regard to them approved by the pope and his catholic majesty ; that he advised him not to intermeddle in this affair, as Don Bernardin was either the holiest bishop of God's church, or the wickedest man on the face of the earth ; and that, which ever he was, he could only be a loser by quarrelling with him ; that he, the governor, had answered, that he had taken

a resolution to dissemble every thing that did not affect his honour or conscience ; but that he would, at the risk of his fortune, oppose the expulsion of the jesuits, or any other religious order from the province, with the government of which the king his master had entrusted him, without express orders in writing from his majesty.

FATHER Lopez no sooner received this answer, than, seeing no longer any appearance of being able to reconcile the bishop and the governor, he made what haste he could to finish the affairs that brought him into Paraguay, in order to leave a province, which must, he foresaw, become the scene of the most horrid confusion ; and he accordingly set out soon after. The prelate, however, had not, as yet, lost all hopes of being able to stagger the governor's resolution ; and, therefore, did all that lay in his power to persuade him, that he was the sincerest of his friends. Don Gregorio saw very well that these offers of the bishop were very far from being disinterested, and received a further proof of it from father Lopé Hinojosa his son, of the order of St. Augustin, lately returned from Yaguaron, where, on his arrival from Chili, he went to pay his respects to the bishop.

FATHER Lopé informed his father, that he had been received by the bishop with the greatest honours, and saluted by the sound of hautboys ; that the prelate had loaded him with praises, and marks of the most cordial friendship ; that he had named him examiner of the candidates for holy orders, with a promise to receive whoever should bring him a note under his hand ; that he had often, and with great openness, entertained him with complaints against the jesuits ; that, among other things, he accused them of abusing both the pope and the king ; that, in quality of pastor of the

the diocese, and counsellor to his majesty, he considered himself as bound in duty to persecute them without mercy, though he were to lose his life by it ; that he had requested him to prevail on his father to absent himself for some time, under some pretext or another, if he did not think proper to act in concert with him ; in fine, that he had promised him a thousand livres to buy books, in case he succeeded in this negotiation.

To this discourse of his son, and those of every other person, who spoke to him in the same strain, the governor made no other answer, than by vague protestations of his devotion to the person of Don Bernardin. He then caused the jesuits to be informed of the storm that was gathering against them ; but without letting them know what assistance they might expect from him. He even gave them reason to think that he waited to take his resolution, till the circumstances should oblige him to declare himself. In fact, he played his part so well, that the bishop was so far deceived as to think he might proceed without meeting any opposition from him. However, he resolved to advance inch by inch ; convinced that, by always gaining a little ground, he should, at last, carry his point, provided he made no halt. The following was the first step he took.

THE bishop proposed the jesuits to yield him a farm of theirs, for what it had cost them ; and then, without waiting for their answer, sent them word, that they were rich enough to make him a present of it ; adding, that, as he thought there was no relying upon their generosity, he gave them notice, that this estate belonged to the Indians of Yaguaron, and ordered them to evacuate it in eight days ; if they did not chuse, that he should cause it to be seized ; and abandon to those charged with the execution of his orders, all the moveables they could

could find on it, as a reward for their trouble. This letter was presented to the rector of the college by one of the bishop's officers, who, without giving him time to read it, told him it contained a definitive sentence ; that, as they could make no appeal from it but to the Pope, of whom the bishop was delegate, it would be to no purpose to make any ; and that, besides, Don Bernardin would not give them time to do it.

DON Bernardin, at the same time, caused notice to be given to all those who were preparing to receive holy orders, to repair to Yaguaron ; and, as they presented themselves before him, made them take an oath to be faithful to him, even to the effusion of their blood, if it should be found requisite. Several persons were invited to this ordination, which was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. The prelate, besides, had taken care, by the choice of those he admitted to holy orders, to interest in his favour the principal families of the capital, whom he imagined he might thereby attach to himself in such a manner, as to make them side with him, the jesuits ; especially as he had already weakened their interest with all ranks, by shutting up their schools, and forbidding them the exercise of their ordinary functions.

HE, likewise, built greatly on the air and strain of an inspired man, which had succeeded so well with him in the beginning, and still made some impression on the people. One day, as he was preaching at Yaguaron, and inveighing against the jesuits, with all his usual vehemence ; happening to spy amongst the audience father Peter Romero ; he turned towards the tabernacle ; and, addressing himself to the missionary who stood at the end of the church, " You must excuse me, father, said he, for speaking in this manner ; it is the Lord, who resides here, and whom I am just going to re-

ceive, that has put these things into my mouth I had not even the least thought of them when I got into the pulpit ; but could not resist the Holy Ghost, which seized me." He spoke in pretty much the same terms, on the day of the ordination, to two other jesuits sent by father Sobrino to represent to him, that neither himself nor any of his religious, could reproach themselves with having ever done any thing to deserve his indignation. After speaking to them in the harshest terms ; laying his hand upon his breast, and raising his eyes towards heaven, he added, that motives superior to every human consideration were the sole rule of his behaviour to them. He dismissed them with these words ; and then coolly resumed the conversation, which their visit had interrupted.

SOME moments after he suddenly changed the discourse ; and, as if overwhelmed with the deepest sorrow, he said, sighing, that, in quality of bishop, it was his business to defend the rights of the church, and prosecute, without mercy, whoever dared to make the least attempt on her rights and patrimony ; that, having the honour to be counsellor to his majesty, he was bound in duty to clear the province of those, who made themselves masters of the king's domain, to send the riches arising from it, into foreign countries, and even into the states of powers at war with his majesty ; that, as pastor of the diocese, it was his indispensable duty to his flock to guard them from the snares, which the infernal spirit laid for them, by means of self interested ministers, who, under a veil of piety, and of zeal for the salvation of souls, stript them of their temporal substance.

AFTER this preamble, which kept the minds of all the company in suspense, he said, that, as a man, subject like all other men to be deceived, he had for a long time suffered himself to be seduced by
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the false relations dispersed by them ; but that, as he was now better informed, and even enlightened from above, he should be absolutely inexcusable before God and man, if he did not lay open in what manner they had made themselves masters of so many Indians, to the prejudice of the royal patrimony, and the patronage of the church ; that these false apostles taught their Neophytes abominable doctrines ; that, having charitably advertised them of it, they had disregarded his remonstrances ; that they spread among the people pernicious opinions ; that they cried down the censures of the church, and reduced to nothing the authority of the holy see ; that they persecuted the bishops, and rendered their lives unhappy ; that he had informed his majesty of their daily introducing new pastors into their reductions, without the approbation of their ecclesiastical superiors, and without applying for the *visa* to the bishops ; that they dissuaded the Indians from paying any tribute to the king, or tithes to the bishops ; that they had very rich mines of gold, whose produce they sent wherever they pleased ; that they aimed at nothing less than usurping all power both spiritual and temporal ; that he had shut up their schools, because they taught their scholars nothing, with a view of engrossing to themselves all the parishes, when there should be no secular priests left to officiate in them ; and that, for the same reason, they refused to approve the candidates for holy orders when appointed to examine them ; that he himself had entrusted them for a time with some parishes, but that he had done it merely on their repeated application ; and for want of knowing them better ; that he had forbid them to administer the sacraments, as he had heard they were not over scrupulous in regard to the secret of confession, and made a handle of it to know the most private transactions of families,

in order to improve them to their own advantage ; that father de Montoya had surreptitiously obtained a royal cedula, by virtue of which his brethren had robbed the Spaniards of whole nations, which belonged to them by right of conquest ; that they brought nothing with them into Paraguay, but the clothes on their backs ; yet had acquired the sovereignty of one of its largest districts ; that he was firmly resolved to drive them out of his diocese, as the Venetians had done, and the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue ; that the bishop of Tucuman and several others had received the same power, but were afraid to exert it ; but that, for his part, he wanted neither power nor courage to give them the example ; “and I reckon, said he, making an end of his harangue, that you will soon acknowledge yourselves obliged to me for being served by Indians, and for seeing your children provided with good parishes ; the king put in possession of his rights ; and the church reestablished in the enjoyment of her rights and patrimony.” This fine harangue contained almost as many absurdities and falsehoods as words. The reductions were not as yet erected into parishes, in which case alone there could be any necessity for applying to the bishops for their *visa*. The royal tribute was not regulated till the year 1649. The custom of paying tithes to the ecclesiastical superiors was not as yet any where established. It was notorious, that the jesuits did all that lay in their power to be excused from the charge of parishes. The immunity from all personal service granted to their Indians was not surreptitiously obtained, and has since been several times confirmed. Besides, it was not father Montoya who solicited it. The Venetians had not expelled the jesuits ; these fathers had reired of their own accord. And surely, it ill became

came a bishop to imitate the example of the Portugueze of St. Paul of Piratiningue.

As to the last article of Don Bernardin's accusation, though he often repeated it, it made little impression on the publick, as no body could guess what he meant by it. Moreover, no one ever imagined that the jesuits revealed the secret of confession. And the pretended gold mines had not as yet obtained any credit. But the prelate knew, that the hopes of having in command all the Indians of the Parana, was enough to induce several persons to favour his enterprize; and he added all the rest merely to persuade his audience that those who opposed his designs were no better than traitors to both church and state. These things he continually repeated both in publick from the pulpit, and in private discourse with such, as he thought it most imported him to make sure of. He even shewed them the informations of his visitors, and the writings of some jesuits, whose hands had been counterfeited; accompanying these marks of confidence with caresses and offers of service; spiring up the fearful by telling them that he acted merely by the king's orders; and he, at last, wrought upon so many persons, that people were every where in the utmost impatience to see the execution of a project, from which they flattered themselves with the thoughts of deriving such considerable advantages. But, just as he began to look upon himself as sure of success, he received news sufficient to convince him, that he would meet with difficulties, which he had never before dreamed of.

He had deferred, it seems, seizing on the farm of St. Isidore, thinking, perhaps, that the jesuits, intimidated by his menaces, would yield it up to him of themselves, in hopes of recovering his good graces, or hindering him to proceed any further

lengths against them. He was, therefore, greatly surprized on hearing, that the governor, at father Sobrino's request, had sent there an alcalde of the holy Hermandad, with ten armed men, to defend it. Upon this, he sent there an ecclesiastick with two clerks and an Indian. The business of the ecclesiastick and the two clerks was to serve an excommunication, in writing, upon the alcalde and his men, if they did not immediately retire; and that of the Indian, to claim the farm; which he accordingly did. The alcalde told the Indian, that, if his cacique or his corregidor had any claims to the farm, they should prosecute them in a legal way; and that, if he or any one else dared to commit the least disorder, they should immediately pay for it. Afterwards, turning to the ecclesiastick, who was preparing to read his sentence of excommunication, he told him, that it was to the governor, by whose orders he acted, he should carry the bishop's ordinance; and obliged him to withdraw.

THIS resistance put the bishop quite beside himself; but father Neito, an apostate monk, who had so far insinuated himself into the bishop's good graces, as to obtain a good benefice, and several other favours, and even the honour of being his confessor and principal counsellor, soon brought him to himself again. He told him, that, in time of war, writings signified nothing; that the governor would be in no such haste to put his threats in execution; that, if he dared to resist his bishop in person, two good cuffs, which he took upon himself to give him as to an enemy of the church, would bring him to reason again; that the people were very well disposed; the jesuits hated; his most illustrious lordship adored; and that it was his opinion, that his lordship should not lose a single moment to avail himself of such a favourable conjuncture; but, invoking St. Jago, set out directly

to drive the jesuits out of their college; that it would be improper to stay at the farm, which these fathers could not carry away with them; that they were schismatics, and even hereticks, of whom he could not make too great haste to purge the province; but that the shortest and surest course would be to strike at the body of the tree, without losing time to lop off the branches.

THIS discourse, so suitable to an apostate, but so unworthy of the confessor of a bishop, revived the drooping spirits of the prelate, who appointed St. Francis's day for the execution of his project, and caused it to be published, (though probably in general terms, yet accompanied) by the sound of bells at Yaguaron, as if the holy land was to be rescued out of the hands of the Mussulmen. He then sent to the Assumption to prepare, privately, some floats to put the jesuits on, with a provision of biscuit and salt meat; ordered the convents of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and the Merci, to send friars to govern the reductions of the Parana, till he could find secular priests enough to place there as curates. He then drew up a complaint, in the name of the people, against the jesuits, importing, that they opposed the giving of their Indians in command to the Spaniards, who, he said, had reduced them by force of arms; which was a falsehood; concluding with a request, that these religious should be expelled the province.

THOUGH the jesuits little imagined, that the danger was so instant, they thought it high time to take some measures in order to prevent a surprize; and had recourse, for this purpose, to the royal audience of Charcas. This was going a great way to seek a remedy for an evil so near at hand. But could it be imagined, that a bishop should form such a project, and be able to carry it into execution, in spite of the governor? In the mean time,

Don Bernardin having received notice, that some Indians of the reductions on the Parana had just past through Yaguaron, in their way to the Itatines, he immediately sent after them; and his messengers took from them all the letters they had to deliver father Sobrino in their passage through the Assumption, and some muskets which some officers had given them to defend themselves, in case they should meet with an enemy; as likewise some instruments of musick. The Neophytes of the reductions seldom go any where without them, either to amuse themselves on the road, or to entertain the missionaries they are conducting to their towns: or, in fine, to accompany their songs and canticles.

FATHER Sobrino, who soon heard of this violence, but did not know it had been committed by the orders of the bishop, wrote to him to beg he might cause to be restored to these Indians, the things they had been plundered of. But all the answer the prelate made his letter was to send him copies of the intercepted letters; and reproach him bitrerly with the jesuits permitting their Indians to carry fire arms. Don Bernardin had so much the more reason for not complying with father Sobrino's request, as he had not himself fire arms enough for all those whom he intended to employ in his expedition; and thought the instruments of musick might be very useful to animate his troops, in case they should be obliged to come to blows. At length, when all his military preparations were finished, the Indians of the neighbourhood ready to march, and the petitions of the Assumptionists presented and received in due form, the bishop drew up the plan of an ordinance, or rather the preamble of one, as he did not think proper to discover the whole of his design, till it was executed; and sent this his production

duction to the capital, to be published there, when he should have put the last hand to it. Here it is, such as it then was, and has ever since remained :

“DON Bernardin de Cardenas, by the grace of God and the holy apostolic see, bishop of Paraguay, counsellor to the king in all his councils, &c. Having examined the complaints and petitions of the inhabitants of the noble city of the Assumption, of the chapter of our cathedral church, and of the clergy, and religious orders, in regard to the oppression they have suffered, and still suffer, from the fathers of the company of Jesus, who govern the reductions of the Parana, the Uruguay, and the Itatines ; facts which are known to every one, and to ourselves in particular most evident ; knowing, likewise, that these fathers have usurped the king's rights ; that they have made themselves masters of the vassals and territories of his majesty, as if they were themselves the sovereigns of them, without acknowledging any dependance upon his said majesty, or the ordinary ; that they establish curates, without presentation or canonical institution.” The rest blank.

THE prelate set out from Yaguaron the 3d of October, and reckoned to arrive the same day at the Assumption ; but a heavy rain overtook him halfway, and obliged him to spend the night there. The very same day, the jesuits assisted at first vespers in the church of the Franciscans ; and numbers of persons, who had received intelligence of the storm that hung over them, could not help admiring their tranquillity. As soon as divine service was finished, the lieutenant general, Don Francis Florez, meeting father Nieto, who was come to town betimes, to prepare for the next day's business, in which he was to be a principal actor, invited him to supper. Father Nieto readily complied ; and thinking it his duty to make some return

turn for the civilities he had received, acquainted Don Francis with what was to be transacted the next day ; adding, that the first thing the bishop intended to do on his arrival, was to go to the governor's, to know if he would join him ; and, if he did not chuse it, to prevail on him to absent himself. He then exhorted Florez to second so glorious an undertaking, which could not possibly miscarry, as the bishop had four hundred Indians with him, all very well armed ; omitting nothing to persuade him, that, independent of the publick, his own private interest should oblige him to comply.

FLOREZ had command enough over himself not to let father Nieto see what he thought of this matter. But, as soon as he was gone, took a turn into the town, and ordered his servants to observe, if there appeared any extraordinary commotion among the people. He then went to the governor, and communicated to him the intelligence he had received. Don Gregorio, thunderstruck at the news, instantly foresaw what he should be exposed to, in case the bishop succeeded, or any disorder should happen in consequence of his attempt. He, therefore, immediately repaired to the college, to let the jesuits know what was doing ; and was surprized to find them so easy about what might happen. He then represented to them, that it was not only lawful for them, but even their duty, to oppose the violence with which they were threatened ; and then withdrew, without giving them time to answer him, in order to send arms to their house, and engage several of the principal inhabitants, upon whom he knew he could depend, to spend the rest of the night there.

THE day following, the governor, accompanied by a great number of persons of every rank and condition, sallied out early to meet the bishop, whom
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he found surrounded by a great number of people ; and complimented him on his happy return. Don Bernardin, having cast his eyes over the great multitude which had followed the governor, asked him, why he did not see the jesuits among them. The governor then whispered him, that he ought not to be surprized at it, as these fathers had been informed, the night before, that he had no other business to the Assumption, but to drive them out of their college. " I even know, added he, that they are in a condition not to fear any thing ; and this is not a proper place, my lord, to tell you what I think of your design ; I shall have the honour of speaking to you more about it, when we meet in private together.

At this the prelate appeared thunderstruck for some moments. And then, turning towards father Nieto, who was likewise come out to meet him, " father, said he, some devil has discovered every thing, and we are betrayed." Upon this, some of his confidants advised him to march directly to the college, under pretence of making up matters with the jesuits ; and to tell them, that, in order to leave them no cause of jealousy, he intended to take up his residence amongst them. But not relishing this advice ; he went to alight at the convent of his own order. The governor, on his side, thinking the best thing he could do to put the bishop off his guard, was not to appear very averse to his designs, told him, that the shortest, easiest, and surest course he could take with the jesuits, was to begin by stripping them of their reductions ; that it was his opinion he should repair there himself in person ; that he should have a good escort, in order to enforce obedience to his orders ; that he might then return to the Assumption, where nothing could hinder him from completing his business ;

liness ; whereas, if he attempted to set out by driving these religious out of their college, they would infallibly call their Neophytes to their assistance, as they were in a condition to hold out till their arrival. Don Bernardin relished this advice so well, that he communicated it to his council, who likewise unanimously approved it.

THOUGH he now no longer doubted of the governor's being in his interest, he forbid his confidants to speak of any thing that had passed between them ; and no longer thought of any thing, but how he might lull the jesuits into a fatal security. For this purpose, he told one of those who visited him, that he would be glad to see father Sobrino ; and father Sobrino having immediately waited upon him, he received him in the most affable manner ; and said so many obliging things to him, that all present concluded he was quite reconciled with him and his brethren. The rector himself was the first to be deceived by these appearances, or at least feigned to be so ; and, on his return to the college, sent all manner of refreshments to the prelate, who in distributing them among his household, told them that they might expect to see themselves soon at the fountain head, where they would have every thing by only wishing for it. He then ordered all the necessary preparations to be made for his expedition ; and composed, himself, a memorial to justify it.

In this piece he repeated every thing he had already so often said of his motives for undertaking it ; of the orders he had received from his majesty for that purpose ; of the petitions presented to him by the secular and regular clergy, the inhabitants of the Assumption, and a great number of Indians. The rest was mere declamation, stuffed with ill digested invectives, all resembling those, of which his
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sermons and private discourse, and even all his letters, were generally composed. We shall, hereafter, give some of these letters, in which he has painted himself so much to the life, that no one, who has read them, can be surprized at the many mistakes and disorders committed by him.

BUT it is fit I should observe, before I proceed any further, that all these pretended orders of the king and the sovereign Pontiff, upon which he laid so much stress, and which we shall hereafter see him attest upon all that is most sacred, if they were not the productions of a warm imagination, which realized every thing that came into his head, they were, at least, no better than the consequences, which to him appeared evident, of certain general expressions usually employed in the dispatches addressed to the bishop by the courts of Madrid and Rome. It is, besides, improbable to the last degree, that the three regular communities of the Assumption should have subscribed in a body the petitions mentioned by the bishop. Some private members, indeed, surprized or intimidated by him, might have done so, without well knowing the tendency of what they signed; and it has been proved, as we shall see hereafter, that Don Bernardin, or at least the ministers of his passions, have often used subscriptions of that kind; and even employed the greatest violence to obtain even them.

WHILE the bishop was entirely taken up with the thoughts of conquering the reductions of the Parana, captain Pedro Diaz del Vall arrived from la Plata; and served him with a new decree of the royal audience of Charcas, enjoining him to take off the interdict and all the excommunications he had been so lavish of, without requiring any thing for so doing. He likewise delivered him a private letter from the same tribunal, praying and enjoin-
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ing him to return to the Assumption, to govern his church with the great virtues and talents which he was known to possess ; to support, in his discourse, in his writings, in all his proceedings, the dignity of his character, which they heard, with great concern, he had forgot on several occasions ; and to live on better terms with the governor than he had hitherto done. This letter was accompanied with one from the same tribunal to the governor, recommending to him not to let the bishop any longer forget, that he represented his majesty in his province, and was invested with his authority.

Don Gregorio, to avoid the danger of a new rupture with Don Bernardin, made no mention of this letter ; and even opposed the publication of the decree, till he was forced to it by the representations of those, who had not as yet obtained the absolution of their censures, or, to obtain it, had been obliged to give security for the payment of the fines imposed upon them. The bishop, as the governor apprehended, attributed to him the mortification he suffered on this occasion. He declared, however, that he would obey the decree, as far as it was consistent with the rights of the catholic church and her bishops ; yet gave private orders to his visitor to burn all the herb of Paraguay belonging to him, that they could lay their hands on. This letter was afterwards produced before the royal audience of Charcas.

He then addressed himself to the camp-master general ; offered to absolve him from the censures he said he had incurred, and forgive the fine annexed to them, if he would but deliver him an ancient schedule of Charles V. which it was reported he had taken out of the archives of the Assumption, and by virtue of which that capital, in case of the governor's death, or his absenting him-

himself, might name one to succeed him. He told him, that this schedule was never more necessary than at present, when it so much imported the glory of God, the service of his majesty, and the interest of the inhabitants, to put an end to the tyranny of the jesuits ; that, to accomplish so good a work, he wanted nothing but the assistance of a man like himself ; that, notwithstanding, he required nothing more of him than to put himself at the head of the people to drive them out ; in doing which, besides, he said, he was more concerned than another person.

Don Sebastian answered by beseeching Don Bernardin to reflect upon the proposal he had made ; and forgot nothing to convince him of the injustice of his designs ; his want of power to carry them into execution ; and the prejudice he did himself by his inveteracy to persecute religious, who had never given him any reason for it. To all this the bishop, at first, made no other reply, than by declaring to Don Sebastian, that as yet he was not absolved from the censures he had incurred ; and by threatening him with the greater excommunication, if he did not deliver up to him the schedule in question. Then, softening a little, he undertook to prove, that his designs were just and lawful before God ; that to bring them to bear he did not stand in need either of his advice or his assistance ; that, though the whole world were to oppose him, he would find means to accomplish whatever it was his duty to undertake ; that, by lopping off rotten members from his church, he acted like an able surgeon, who, to save a hand, makes no scruple to cut off a mortified finger ; that the Pope, when he should have heard what he had done, would erect a statue to him, and would even deem him worthy of being canonized, though he had done no other good work during the course of his whole

whole life. Don Sebastian, and captain Augustin de Infuraldè, have attested, that the prelate repeated the same things to them in the cloister of the Franciscan convent, in presence of several ecclesiasticks and religious.

So many declarations, at last, convinced the governor, that, in a short time, he would no longer be master in the province ; that it would even be unsafe for him to remain in it, if he lost any more time to employ all his authority against a man, who pretended that people were to acknowledge no other. He, therefore, sent a private express to the reductions for six hundred Indians ; and, at the end of six days, sent a second express, to hasten their march. He then waited on the bishop ; told him that every thing was ready for the expedition they had agreed upon ; but that he could not give him more than one hundred soldiers. The prelate answered that he could make shift with one hundred and thirty ; and that he would have them. Don Gregorio promised them, but required fifteen days to furnish them ; reckoning, that, by that time, the Indians he sent for would be arrived ; and he might then act in quality of governor as he was bound to do.

Don Bernardin, on his side, did nothing but exasperate the nobility and the people against the je-suits, whom he likewise excommunicated with an inhibition, under the same penalty, to all manner of persons to have any communication with them. Then, after publickly renewing, and in a very indecent procession, his promise to give all the Indians of the reductions in command among those with whom he should have most reason to be pleased, he set out for Yaguaron, in order to be more at hand to hasten the preparations for his expedition, which he dignified with the name of a holy war ; and
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On his arrival there; he communicated to his council the reflections he had made on the proposals of the governor; whose sincerity he now began to suspect.

He observed to them; that the jesuits, while he was employed on the Parana in reducing their reductions, might fortify themselves in their college, and put themselves in a condition to hold out, till they could receive such orders from the royal audience of Charcas, and the viceroy of Peru, as would oblige him to desist; for which reason he concluded for abiding by his first plan, which was to begin by driving them out of their college; as he would then, he flattered himself; find it no hard matter to seize on their reductions; that, this once effected, the king, though he should not approve it, would consent to leave things as they were, rather than run the risk of losing a whole province by endeavouring to reestablish the jesuits, and procure them the restitution of what they had lost. He added; that he thought it above all things requisite to make sure of the governor's person, whom he now mistrusted more than ever; and his opinion was generally approved.

Don Gregorio soon began to suspect this alteration in the bishop's sentiments; so that the delay of the Indians he had sent for to the reductions, gave him so much the more uneasiness, as the soldiers he had promised the bishop were already at Yaguaron, where the prelate loaded them with caresses, and fed them with the most magnificent promises; though he could not but know, that it would be no easy matter for him to fulfill them; for he had already divided the spoils of the jesuits; and had declared in his own council, that he reserved nothing to himself but the glory of having laboured to defend the liberty of the church; serve his majesty as became a good subject; and restore to the

good people of his diocese what the jesuits had robbed them of. He even declared, that it had never been his intention to confer on regulars the parishes of the reductions ; and if he had flattered them with that favour, it was merely to detach them, and by their means the people, from the jesuits.

At length, the governor, having received notice that the Indians he expected were arrived within four leagues of the Assumption, set out to join them with an escort of thirty soldiers ; and, after marching all night at their head, arrived with them by day break at Yaguaron. The bishop, awakened by the bustle caused among his domesticks by so sudden an apparition, immediately started out of bed ; but he had scarce time to dress himself, when the governor entered his apartment and told him he was come to conduct him to the Assumption, because the Indians of Yaguaron, grown insolent in consequence of the protection he afforded them, had refused to yield their governor the obedience they owed him. Don Bernardin, without making him any answer, slipped away by a private door, which opened into the great altar of the church. The governor followed him, seized him by the arm, and begged him to hear what he had to say. But the prelate broke loose from him ; and, crying out with all his might, declared the governor excommunicated.

At this, a friar, and a mulatto woman who served in the kitchen, ran up to his assistance, and fell upon the governor, who threw himself on his knees on the steps of the great altar, while the bishop, taking the holy ciborium out of the tabernacle, shewed it to the people, with whom the church filled in a minute, and who, at the sight of it, all fell prostrate to the ground. The bishop then, being a little come to himself, asked the governor what

what he wanted with him, "to serve you, my lord, answered Don Gregorio, with a sentence of banishment from this province, and a seizure of your temporalities, for having usurped the jurisdiction which I hold from our sovereign lord the king. It is by order of the viceroy, which hereby I signify to your most illustrious lordship." "I promise to obey, answered the bishop, and take this congregation to witness my promise."

THE governor, upon this immediately left the church; and the bishop prepared to celebrate mass; but first, with his episcopal ornaments on, he drew up a kind of deposition, to which he added the bitterest invectives against the governor. Then, he declared him excommunicated, as well as the camp master general, and all the violators of his episcopal dignity. When mass was over, he gave orders for a procession, which he made in the following order. The Indian women appeared first, carrying, each, a green branch in her hand; next marched the musicians, singing the *Pange Lingua*; the prelate followed, carrying the blessed sacrament; the rest of the people closed the procession. The procession issued from the church to the ringing of bells; and advanced as far as the market place, where the Indians belonging to the reductions were drawn up under arms. The bishop, happening to cast his eyes upon some of them who had not immediately kneeled down, called out to them that they were barbarians, traitors, schismatics, and heretics. He then returned to the church; placed the blessed sacrament upon the altar; and, turning towards the people, spoke for about a quarter of an hour against the governor, who, from the door of the church, answered him pretty much in the same strain, though in a low voice.

BOTH he and the prelate were in too violent a situation not to endeavour to get out of it ; and, accordingly, they saw each other that very evening. But, by what has since happened, there is reason to believe, that the bishop took the first step towards a reconciliation, being convinced, that he would always be a gainer by treating alone with the governor.

ONE thing, at least, is certain ; and that is, that he prevailed on the governor to dismiss the Parana Indians, and obtained six days to prepare for his departure, on condition that he would absolve the governor from his excommunication. After this interview, the governor went, with no more than six men, to spend the night in a neighbouring country house. The bishop, on his side, not content with seeing the Indians take the road to their reductions, caused them to be followed, lest the governor should recall them ; and, finding he did not, set out the next morning, before day light, for the capital.

HE was informed on the road, that the whole city was in an uproar, in consequence of a report spread there, that the governor had embarked him on the river, and was coming, at the head of the reduction Indians, to bring to reason all those who had declared against him in favour of their bishop. This intelligence inspired him with hopes, that he would be well received ; and, in fact, the bells had no sooner proclaimed his arrival, than the whole city resounded with acclamations of joy. He made his entry preceded by several ecclesiasticks, with arms under their cloaks, surrounded by several friars, and carrying, on his breast, a little glass box, in which there was a consecrated host. He had ordered those in the front to turn towards the college ; but somebody having told him, that he would there meet with four hundred men ready to re-

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receive him, which, however, was not true, he thought proper to alight at the convent of St. Francis.

HERE he was immediately visited by all those who were attached to him ; and he applied to them for arms. He likewise caused to be brought to him the arms belonging to all those who depended on him. He then ordered murdering holes to be made in several places ; and the weak places to be fortified with gabions. This done, he sent to the cathedral for an image of the virgin ; and to the church of St. Blaize, for that saint's ; and caused both to be placed on the great altar, under canopies. Next, he sent for all his domesticks, not forgetting the mulatto cook who had served him so well at Yaguaron. Thus cantoned in the convent, as in a fortified place, he gave all those who shut themselves up with him, an account of every thing that had happened to him since his departure from the Assumption. He told them, that he had found means to engage the governor to dismiss the Parana Indians ; “ but it is a great pity, added he, that such a man should hold such a post. Let me but have the royal schedule, which has been stolen out of the town house, and I will use him as he deserves, as well as Sebastian de Leon.” This schedule, however, contained no more than a power, which the emperor had given during the first years after the building of the Assumption, to name, provisionally, a commandant on the death of the governor ; and this privilege subsisted no longer.

THE camp-master general, hearing of this discourse, immediately waited on the governor to represent to him all the evils and inconveniencies, to which he would expose himself, by not immediately ordering back the Parana Indians. But the prelate, who had his spies every where, soon hearing what

this officer was about, caused the alarm bell of the convent to ring. Upon this, the inhabitants immediately flocked to the convent, where the bishop, having sent for an alcalde and some regidors, took out of his pocket, and read with a loud voice, a paper, which, he said, was a letter he had just received, importing, that the reduction Indians had plundered Yaguaron, and all the country houses in the neighbourhood; that they were in march to serve the capital in the same manner; and that they had been already seen at Ita: "And because, added he, I would defend your liberty, your property, and your privileges, they want to drive me out of the province, as a fower of sedition. But, in quality of a counsellor to his majesty, I exhort all those in employment, to take upon them the defence of this oppressed city, and name a governor, who may preserve the province from the danger with which it is threatened. In so urgent a case, necessity may very well supply the want of a royal schedule."

THE alcalde, astonished at this discourse, ran directly to the governor, to conjure him not to let the Indians enter the city; and, on Don Gregorio's answering him, that he knew what was to be done, fell into a violent passion; and even forgot himself so far as to speak very disrespectfully to the governor, who, thereupon, sent him to prison. As soon as the people heard of it, they grew perfectly outrageous; and would, perhaps, have been guilty of some violence, had they not been restrained by their apprehensions of the Indians, whose number was made to amount to twelve hundred. They were, however, soon quieted by the receipt of certain advice, that these Indians had never appeared either at Yaguaron or at Ita; and that their number never amounted to above six hundred.

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Soon after, indeed, they were given to understand, what was very true, that these Indians were, in fact, marching towards the city by the governor's orders ; but that they observed the strictest discipline, and no where occasioned the least disorder.

Don Bernardin, however, had sent to the royal audience a relation of their pretended hostilities, which, besides being attested by himself upon oath, was signed by two friars, as eye-witnesses to the plundering of Yaguaron, where it was afterwards proved neither of them had been. The prelate affirmed in another memorial, that, during his residence in that town, and while he was preparing to visit the reductions, the jesuits had sent the governor of Paraguay thirty thousand gold crowns, and a thousand well armed men, to engage him to banish him, for fear he should discover their gold mines ; and this memorial was signed by several ecclesiasticks, some of whom were not so much as permitted to read it. One clergyman, who, alone, had the courage not to comply, was loaded with chains, and brought to the convent of St. Francis, where, after a great deal of ill usage, he was suspended in the air by a rope, till, overcome by the painfulness of his situation, he promised to do every thing they thought proper. Accordingly, on being untied, he signed the memorial ; but, as soon as he recovered his liberty, he protested against the violence that had been offered him.

In the mean time, the creatures of the bishop left no stone unturned to engage the inhabitants to take up arms. The prelate, on his side, bestirred himself exceedingly, to procure the schedule of Charles V, and the royal standard ; and, finding, at last, that he could not get either one or the other, vented his anger and indignation on the camp-master general, his brothers and his friends, whom he de-

clared excommunicated, schismaticks, and enemies to their country. At last, the tumult encreased to such a degree, that several of the principal inhabitants, finding it impossible to remain any longer in the city with decency or safety, retired to the country. Upon this, the governor, who flattered himself, that Don Bernardin, when he should lose all hopes of holding out in his asylum, would comply with his promise to leave the province, sent to summon him to set out without any further delay ; and to let him know, at the same time, that there was a bark well stored with provisions of every kind, ready to receive him and all his family.

THE king's notary, Ruy Gomez de Goyoso, who was charged with the serving of this summons, on his presenting himself at the gates of the convent, and desiring to speak with the prelate, was accosted by a friar armed with a javelin, with which he three times endeavoured to run him through the body. Don Bernardin made up to the noise ; asked Gomez his business ; and when, he had given an account of it, told him that no one had a right to command him to leave his diocese ; and that, at any rate, the governor should have come himself on the errand. He then broke out into invectives against him, and declared the king's notary excommunicated, threatening him, at the same time, in case he did not consider himself as such, to fine him five hundred crowns, and deliver him over to the holy office as an obstinate and irreclaimable sinner. Don Gregorio, having received notice of this excess ; and being told, besides, that, Don Bernardin having declared it would be but a venial sin to dispatch him, two ecclesiasticks had taken upon them to do the business, and two more to set fire to the college, he immediately ordered one hundred of the Parana Indians into the city ; posted fifty at the gates of the college ; and the rest about his own house.

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DON Gregorio then published an edict, declaring Don Bernardin de Cardenas an intruder into the bishoprick of Paraguay, and without any manner of jurisdiction. The governor had by him three pieces left him by the fathers Truxillo and Verdugo, and his brother, father de Hinistrosa, to prove that the bishop was actually, and ever since his consecration, had been suspended, and the governor knew very well, that the fathers of St. Dominick, and of the Merci, and several franciscans were of the same opinion with his brother. The piece by father de Hinistrosa, the bishop has always attributed to the jesuits; and it is upon this foundation, that in all his letters, and in all the memorials published in his name, and presented by his agent to the royal council of the Indies, he accused the jesuits of having driven him out of his diocese, as they had already done, he said, two of his predecessors; a calumny, which has been repeated in several libels, especially in the *Morale Pratique des Jesuites*, but always without the least foundation. The two other prelates are Don Thomas de Torrez, of the order of St. Dominick, who was translated from the bishoprick of the Assumption to that of Tucuman; and Don Christopher de Arresti, of the order of St. Benedict, translated to that of Buenos Ayres. The first never had any quarrel with the jesuits, and the second lived to his death in the greatest harmony with them. Besides, what could the jesuits have got by these translations, since most of their houses, as well as the best of them, were in the dioceses of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman?

UNHAPPILY for Don Bernardin, the opinions of the three religious I have just mentioned, have been since confirmed by the sentence of the cardinals of the congregation of Trent. But, to proceed according to the order prescribed by the canons

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in an affair of this importance, it was requisite there should be an ecclesiastical superior. None of the ancient canons now remained in the city but Don Christopher Sanchez, who, at the arrival of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, governed the diocese in quality of grand vicar and provisor. The governor, therefore, required him to resume the exercise of his charge, which the flaws in the prelate's consecration and induction authorized him to continue; and promised to support him with all the authority he himself was invested with in quality of governor. Don Sanchez consented, provided the governor would give him a safeguard for his person. To this Don Gregorio made answer, that he might find one in the jesuits college, which was well guarded; and, accordingly, directly conducted him to it.

He then ordered the general alarm to be beat; and issued an order, on pain of death, for all the inhabitants to repair with their arms to the great square, where the royal standard had been already planted, and hold themselves in readiness to do every thing they should be commanded in the name of his majesty. No one dared to be absent, so that the officers with their soldiers, the magistrates at the head of the militia, and one hundred and fifty Indians, immediately appeared there in order of battle. The governor then made his appearance; and, followed only by some of his principal officers went to the college; called for Don Christopher Sanchez, provisor and vicar general of the diocese; and conducted him to the cathedral, the doors of which were no sooner thrown open, than it filled with persons of both sexes, and of every age and condition.

Don Christopher, after a short prayer, took a crucifix from the great altar; gave it to kiss to the
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governor; and then took the seat he used to occupy during the vacancy of the see, from which he declared that he resumed the exercise of all the charges, with which he had been till then invested, the new bishop of Paraguay not as yet having any lawful jurisdiction. This done, he ordered all the bells to be set a ringing, and all the excommunication lists to be torn down; and took off the interdict which Don Bernardin himself had just taken off, as, finding it impossible to escape this blow, he thought he might make a merit of his pretended indulgence in the eyes of the publick.

THE governor's edict further imported, that as it was notorious his lordship Don Bernardin de Cardenas had intruded himself into the government of the diocese, against the rules of the church, and was actually lodged in the franciscan convent, to which he had caused arms to be brought, and where he had placed a garrison; and from thence filled the city with trouble, confusion and scandal, he forbid all persons, on pain of death, to enter that convent while the prelate continued in it. The provisor and vicar general, on his side, published a mandate to the same purpose, importing, besides, that the said lord bishop was not entitled to any obedience.

Now, at last, Don Bernardin perceived, that he could not hold out any longer, especially as a mandate of his, lately published in one of his parish churches, had made little or no impression on the inhabitants. He, therefore sent word to the governor, that he could no longer prevail upon himself to remain in a province entirely inhabited by excommunicated persons; and accordingly, on the 19th of November, after celebrating his two masses, he took leave of a great number of devout persons, whose consciences he directed, telling them, that he was
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banished from his diocese, for having endeavoured, through his pastoral tenderness for his flock, to relieve the distress of several families, whose patrimony had been usurped by the enemies of the church ; thereby meaning the Indians, whom the jesuits secured from the drudgery of personal service. He repeated all the injuries, with which he, on every former occasion, had loaded these pretended usurpers ; he again interdicted, excommunicated, and anathematized them ; giving, at the same time, notice, that there was no communicating with them without incurring the same censures ; and adding, that, severe as he shewed himself towards those, who obstinately persisted in their rebellion against the church, he would always behave with the greatest compassion and tenderness towards her humble and faithful children.

He then named the churches, in which the inhabitants might enjoy the happiness of assisting at divine service ; and the priests who might hear their confessions, on whom he bestowed the most magnificent encomiums, though, perhaps, he was the only person not to know, that some of them lived in a scandalous concubinage. At length, after taking leave of the great croud that attended him, all bathed in tears, and filling the church with their sighs and groans, he sallied forth, carrying the holy sacrament in a box hung to his breast, and followed by his chaplains and the rest of his clergy, every one with a lighted taper in his hand. As soon as he had got into his bark, he renewed his anathemas against the persecutors of the church, who drove out of his diocese the holiest bishop, to believe his followers, the new world had ever possessed ; and thundered a new interdict against the city, to the sound of a little bell, which he usually carried with him in his journeys. The bells of the franciscan

ciscan church, and those of the episcopal parish, were immediately set a going, according to the orders he had given for that purpose ; and it was found impossible to appease the tumults occasioned by the ringing of them, otherwise than by ringing, at the same time, those of all the other churches.

THE prelate seated himself on a stool in the stern of his bark, having, on both sides of him, the ecclesiasticks and religious, who had embarked with him. The rest of his attendants had placed themselves at some distance ; some smoaking, the rest drinking their Paraguay ; and all in very careless postures, without shewing the least attention to the blessed sacrament, which the bishop carried about him ; and, he himself, no doubt, soon took notice of it, for in some short time, the box containing it, was no longer to be seen. One of his clergy has since assured, that he saw Don Bernardin communicate with it without leaving his place, from a persuasion, it is probable, that he might on this occasion dispense with a law of the church, lest he should not be able to keep his attendants within the bounds of respect due to the holy sacrament of our altars.

BE that as it will, his friends wrote to Tucuman, that, the moment he ascended his bark, stars had been seen to dart from heaven towards the church of St. Lucia, and from thence to the episcopal palace, behind which they disappeared ; that the earth shook ; that rocks had been seen to fly to pieces, and mountains to strike against each other ; that the sun seemed to distil blood ; in short, that amazement and terror had seized every heart. But when these accounts were sent back to the Assumption, it was answered, that nothing like it had been seen there ; that few persons regretted

gretted the bishop, since he carried away with him the source of all that trouble and confusion, with which the city had been almost perpetually agitated ever since he made his appearance in it.

DON Bernardin, however, now began to be more uneasy than he cared to appear, in regard to the defects in his consecration and induction; and it is certain, that he had been, for some time past, taking measures in Rome, to procure the Pope's dispensation with both. From the 9th of May, 1645, to the 2d of October, of the same year, four congregations were held upon this affair, and in them were produced letters from the bishop, in which he desired to be absolved from the censures he might have incurred for causing himself to be consecrated without presenting the Pope's bulls; for having taken possession of his bishoprick; for having received the revenues of it; for having ordained and performed the other episcopal functions; all, in consequence of the opinion of several learned men, who judged that his bulls had probably miscarried, or had been intercepted by persons who wished him no good; and on the strength of a letter from cardinal Anthony Barbarini, who gave him notice of their having been expedited, and treated him as bishop. To these motives he added, the pressing necessity which the diocese of the Assumption had for a bishop.

THE Pope assisted at one of these congregations, in which it was ordered, that Don Bernardin's letters should be examined in a new congregation, in the presence of his holiness, and that the whole affair should be again maturely considered. The 11th of July, 1656, another congregation was held, in which Cardinal Cesi presented a petition addressed to the Pope, by which the canons of the Assumption, independent of the defects in the con-

